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**INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA
ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES**
(Regarding Leon Josephson and Samuel Liptzen)

HEARINGS
BEFORE THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
EIGHTIETH CONGRESS
FIRST SESSION

Public Law 601
(Section 121, Subsection Q (2))

MARCH 5 AND 21, 1947

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INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 5, 1947

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
New York, N. Y.

The committee met at 10:30 a. m., in room 2301, United States Courthouse, Foley Square, New York City.

Present: Hon. Richard M. Nixon, chairman, subcommittee; Hon. Richard B. Vail, member; Hon. Herbert C. Bonner, member; Robert E. Stripling, Esq., chief investigator; Louis J. Russell, Esq., investigator.

The CHAIRMAN. We will call the meeting to order.

The record will show that this is a meeting of a subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives, consisting of Mr. Vail, Mr. Bonner, and Mr. Nixon as chairman, called for the purpose of hearing additional testimony in the Eisler case.

Mr. Stripling, will you proceed with your first witness.

Mr. STRIPLING. The first witness will be Mr. Samuel Liptzen.

Mr. Liptzen, will you stand and be sworn.

TESTIMONY OF SAMUEL LIPTZEN

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

Mr. STRIPLING. You are here in response to a subpoena which was served upon you at this date. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. LIPTZEN. If it is necessary.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you want counsel here with you?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Who is your counsel?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Mr. Kuntz.

Mr. STRIPLING. Before we proceed with the testimony from Mr. Liptzen I would like to refer to a subpoena which was served upon Mr. Liptzen on February 4 by Mr. Stephen W. Birmingham, a person authorized by the chairman to serve such subpoena, the subpoena requiring Mr. Liptzen to be and appear before the full committee of the Committee on un-American Activities, House of Representatives, of which the Honorable J. Parnell Thomas is chairman, at 10 a. m., room 226, Old House Office Building, Washington, D. C., on February 6, 1947.

On the morning of February 6, 1947, Mr. Liptzen sent the following telegram, which was received at the office of the chairman. The telegram reads as follows:

Congressman J. PARNELL THOMAS,
Un-American Activities Committee,
Old House Office Building, Washington, D. C.:

Critical illness of one very dear to me requires my presence at bedside. Am therefore unable to appear on February 6. Will attend any other day you set after this week. Please notify me.

Signed, "Samuel Liptzen."

Mr. STRIPLING. Now, Mr. Liptzen, would you state for the record the reasons why you could not appear before the full committee on February 6?

Mr. LIPTZEN. The missus with whom I have the rooms, she was first operated on in New York on the gall bladder in the Lebanon Hospital. When she felt a little better she went to her family in Boston, and then she got sick again and she was operated on for cancer at the Peter Van Briggan Hospital. Her name is Annie Halland, and I am only the one who was to take care, and I had to make the arrangements, and I had to come to Boston and be present when she was operated on.

Mr. STRIPLING. What days were you in Boston?

Mr. LIPTZEN. On February 6, the date I was called.

Mr. STRIPLING. You were served on February 4 with the subpoena?

Mr. LIPTZEN. On February 4, when I called up Boston what was going on, they told me that she was going to be operated on in the morning and I should be there, because she wanted me to make arrangements about getting some money from New York and hospitalization, so I was there and then came back on Sunday.

Mr. STRIPLING. What day did you go there?

Mr. LIPTZEN. It was on the next morning, I believe.

Mr. STRIPLING. You were served with a subpoena on Tuesday to appear on Thursday in Washington?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Yes. Thursday I was in Boston and Friday.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is the relationship—is there any family relationship between you and this woman?

Mr. LIPTZEN. We had rooms together, and when I was sick for a long time she took care of me and she was very fine to take care of me. Now we are partners of the rooms, and even the rent we are paying together.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is Mr. Liptzen's explanation of this satisfactory to all the members?

Mr. VAHL. The fact of relationship hasn't been established.

Mr. STRIPLING. There is no blood relationship between you and the person who you said was very dear to you?

Mr. LIPTZEN. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. No marital relationship?

Mr. LIPTZEN. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. In other words, you own or rent rooms together?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you own certain property together?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Property, no.

Mr. STRIPLING. You live in the same house?

Mr. LIPTZEN. In the same apartment, and she took care of me when I was sick for a long time, so that is why now when she is sick and it is a question of cancer, taking care of her and everything that is in the house and I don't know what to do or what to arrange without talking to her.

The CHAIRMAN. Where is she now?

Mr. LIPTZEN. She is still in Boston, by the family. Now it is a matter of weeks or days.

The CHAIRMAN. She is still sick?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Yes, there is no cure for her, and it is a matter of days or weeks. I was there this past Saturday and Sunday.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Liptzen, I would like to ask you this: When the subpoena was served upon you by Mr. Birmingham, did you communicate with counsel as to whether or not you should appear before the Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. LIPTZEN. I had in my mind to come to the committee because there was no reason for me not to come, but then when the question came of going to Boston I didn't know what to do, and naturally I asked what I should do.

Mr. STRIPLING. Whom did you get in touch with regarding whether you would appear or not? Who told you to send this telegram which has been read into the record?

Mr. LIPTZEN. I don't think anybody told me.

Mr. STRIPLING. You didn't confer with any lawyer?

Mr. LIPTZEN. No, I asked to write me out a telegram.

Mr. STRIPLING. Whom did you ask?

Mr. LIPTZEN. A girl.

Mr. STRIPLING. What girl?

Mr. LIPTZEN. A girl in the office where I am working.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you served with this subpoena in the office of the Morning Freiheit?

Mr. LIPTZEN. No; in my house I was served. Oh, no, this gentleman [indicating Mr. Birmingham] came into my office.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where is your office?

Mr. LIPTZEN. 35 East Twelfth Street.

Mr. STRIPLING. That is the office of the Morning Freiheit?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Will you describe to the committee what the Morning Freiheit is?

Mr. LIPTZEN. It is a Jewish newspaper.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is it a Communist Jewish newspaper? You know as a matter of fact that it is a Communist edition?

Mr. KUNTZ. I object. I happen to be the attorney for the Morning Freiheit. The Morning Freiheit is not a Communist paper. It is what we commonly call a left-wing paper. Some of the writers are Communists and some are not Communists.

Mr. STRIPLING. If counsel is going to testify I suggest that counsel also be put under oath.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you want Mr. Kuntz' testimony at this time, or do you prefer to proceed with Mr. Liptzen and have Mr. Kuntz at a later time?

Mr. STRIPLING. May we go off the record, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Off the record, Mr. Reporter.

(Discussion off the record.)

The CHAIRMAN. On the record.

Mr. STRIPLING. If counsel has no objection to being sworn I suggest that he be sworn in.

(Whereupon the witness, Edward Kuntz, was sworn by the chairman.)

Mr. BONNER. Are you going to question the witness or the attorney?

Mr. STRIPLING. I am going to question both witnesses. They have both entered into the matter of the Morning Freiheit.

Mr. BONNER. Are you going to leave the question of reply to this subpoena or are you finished with it?

Mr. STRIPLING. May we go off the record, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

The CHAIRMAN. On the record, Mr. Reporter.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, I should like for the record to show that Edward Kuntz is here representing both Mr. Liptzen and the Morning Freiheit.

What is your residence and office address?

Mr. KUNTZ. My residence is 201 West Sixteenth Street, and my office address is 207 Fourth Avenue, New York City, N. Y.

Mr. STRIPLING. I would like for the record to show that Mr. Edward Kuntz has now taken the stand.

TESTIMONY OF EDWARD KUNTZ

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Kuntz, do you represent Samuel Liptzen?

Mr. KUNTZ. I do.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you also represent the Morning Freiheit?

Mr. KUNTZ. I do.

Mr. STRIPLING. When Mr. Liptzen was served with a subpoena on February 4 to appear before the Committee on Un-American Activities on February 6, did he communicate with you concerning this subpoena?

Mr. KUNTZ. He did not.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did he communicate with anyone associated with you?

Mr. KUNTZ. He did not.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you have any knowledge that Mr. Liptzen had sent the telegram which was read into the record?

Mr. KUNTZ. I was told about it subsequently by Mr. Liptzen.

Mr. STRIPLING. After February 6?

Mr. KUNTZ. After February 6.

Mr. STRIPLING. I will ask that Mr. Kuntz step aside and that Mr. Liptzen be recalled to the stand.

TESTIMONY OF SAMUEL LIPTZEN—Resumed

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Liptzen, I believe the question was asked you where were you served with a subpoena by Mr. Birmingham.

Mr. LIPTZEN. It was in my office.

Mr. STRIPLING. Your office is at the Morning Freiheit?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Yes; I am working there.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is your position there?

Mr. LIPTZEN. In the summertime I am collecting bills, and in the wintertime I am helping them as shipping clerk, sending out packages or packing books, or whatever there is work on the floor.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are the offices of the Morning Freiheit located in the same building with the Daily Worker?

Mr. LIPTZEN. The same building.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are the Morning Freiheit and the Daily Worker both printed by the same presses?

Mr. LIPTZEN. I don't know the arrangement there, because I am not the manager. The printing is the same, but I don't know the arrangement, what it is.

Mr. STRIPLING. How long have you been working there?

Mr. LIPTZEN. I am working there for the last couple of years.

Mr. STRIPLING. You have been there for 2 years?

Mr. LIPTZEN. About 2 or 3 years. I used to work by the fur, and I got dye poison.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Liptzen, your office is also located in the same building that the Communist headquarters are located in; isn't that true?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. You have been employed, you say, for approximately 3 years with the Morning Freiheit?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. You don't know whether the Morning Freiheit is printed by the same presses that print the Daily Worker?

Mr. LIPTZEN. The presses is the same.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is it your contention, then, that the Morning Freiheit is not a Communist paper?

Mr. LIPTZEN. No; it is not a Communist paper, it is a progressive paper.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Liptzen, are you a Communist?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. How long have you been a member of the Communist Party of the United States?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Since about 1920 or 1921.

Mr. STRIPLING. You know when you joined the Communist Party. When was it?

Mr. LIPTZEN. When they started.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you a charter member of the Communist Party of the United States?

Mr. LIPTZEN. I don't know who are the charter members.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you been consistently a member of the Communist Party since 1920?

Mr. LIPTZEN. No; not consistently.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were there any periods when you were not a member?

Mr. LIPTZEN. I think there was, but I don't remember exactly when and what.

Mr. STRIPLING. We will have to have a clearer answer to that. Have you ever broken with the party?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Yes; I believe it was a time when I was sick for a long time and then I fell out.

Mr. STRIPLING. You are now a member, however?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you a member of the Communist Party in 1930?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you a member of the Communist Party in 1934?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you a member of the Communist Party in 1935?

Mr. LIPTZEN. That time I was sick and I was in Los Angeles for about a year and a half and at that time I wasn't doing anything.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you ever held any offices in the Communist Party?

Mr. LIPTZEN. No official positions; no. I was active among the trade-unions, I was with the Amalgamated, I was a tailor.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever run for public office on the Communist Party ticket?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Yes. I don't remember the year and date. At that time I was in the trade-union movement and so was Sascha Zimmerman of the International, and they nominated him and also I was nominated.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you a citizen of the United States?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you born in the United States?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Lipsk, Russia.

Mr. STRIPLING. What year?

Mr. LIPTZEN. 1892 or 1893.

Mr. STRIPLING. Don't you know what year you were born?

Mr. LIPTZEN. 1892.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did you come to the United States?

Mr. LIPTZEN. 1909.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did you become a citizen?

Mr. LIPTZEN. In 1917.

Mr. STRIPLING. When you came to the United States how old were you?

Mr. LIPTZEN. About 16 or 17.

Mr. STRIPLING. In 1917 when you became a citizen were you a Communist at that time?

Mr. LIPTZEN. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. You joined the Communist Party 3 years after you became a citizen?

Mr. LIPTZEN. I joined later.

Mr. STRIPLING. In 1920?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. I asked you a few moments ago if you had ever run for political office on the Communist Party ticket. What offices have you been a candidate for?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Assemblyman.

Mr. STRIPLING. What year?

Mr. LIPTZEN. About 1928 or 1929.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Liptzen have you ever traveled abroad?

Mr. LIPTZEN. In Europe, never.

Mr. STRIPLING. Since you have been naturalized have you ever left the United States?

Mr. LIPTZEN. To Canada.

Mr. STRIPLING. How many times have you been to Canada?

Mr. LIPTZEN. I don't remember exactly, but about three times.

Mr. STRIPLING. What years did you go to Canada?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Once I have been in 1926 or 1927 and then about a year later, because I have some relatives there, cousins and uncles, and then I have been there about 2 years ago.

Mr. STRIPLING. Two years ago?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Could you give us the exact date?

Mr. LIPTZEN. It was in the summertime. It could be very easy, I could look it up.

The CHAIRMAN. The summer of what year?

Mr. LIPTZEN. About 2 years ago.

The CHAIRMAN. It was 2 years ago, not about 2 years ago?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Two years ago in the summertime, probably June or July, because I spent there a couple of days in the camp and then I came back.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was it the summer of 1945?

Mr. LIPTZEN. I think so. I can't remember at the moment to say exactly. I have the bills, because I collected some bills for subscribers from the Freiheit. I have been there, but it was in the summertime and I just stayed a couple of days and come back.

Mr. STRIPLING. At what place in Canada did you visit?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Toronto.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you go to a camp at Toronto?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is the name of the camp?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Nei Leben.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is that camp connected in any way with the Communist Party?

Mr. LIPTZEN. No; this is a school camp, and it happened I knew the one who took care there. He is a cook or chef from New York.

Mr. STRIPLING. You said that you visited relatives in Canada?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is the name of your relatives in Canada?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Bernard.

Mr. STRIPLING. Could we have the first name of these people?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Louis. When I came there they left for their vacation, because their son came home from the army in England and because I didn't find them there I went to the camp.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are they Communists?

Mr. LIPTZEN. No; they are in the cloak business.

Mr. STRIPLING. They are not Communists?

Mr. LIPTZEN. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were they aware of the fact that you are a member of the Communist Party of the United States?

Mr. LIPTZEN. No; because I didn't see them for years. I didn't see them since 1926, I believe.

Mr. STRIPLING. You have not seen these people since 1926?

Mr. LIPTZEN. That's right.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you ever obtained a passport?

Mr. LIPTZEN. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you ever applied for a passport?

Mr. LIPTZEN. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, I would like for the witness to sign his name [handing paper to witness]. Please write your name four times, Mr. Liptzen.

(Witness writes his name four times on paper.)

Mr. Chairman, I would like to introduce into the record a document which has been introduced previously into the record in the Eisler

case. I have here, Mr. Chairman, a photostatic copy of a passport application which was subpoenaed from Mrs. Ruth B. Shipley, Chief of the Passport Division of the State Department. It is a passport issued on August 31, 1934, to one Samuel Liptzen.

The passport reads as follows:

I, Samuel Liptzen, a citizen of the United States, do hereby apply to the Department of State at Washington for a passport. I do solemnly swear that the statements made on both sides of this application are true and that the photograph attached hereto is a likeness of me.

It further states:

I solemnly swear that I was born at Lipsk, now Poland, Russia, on March 13, 1893. That I immigrated to the United States on or about April, 1909, that I resided continuously in the United States from 1909 to 1934, at New York City, New York; that I was naturalized as a citizen of the United States before the Supreme Court of the State of New York in New York City on March 13, 1917, as shown by the certificate of naturalization presented herewith, that I am the identical person described in said certificate and that I am domiciled in the United States, my permanent address residence being 208 West 14th Street, New York.

Mr. STRIPLING. Now, Mr. Liptzen, you have heard what I have just read?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is the information as I have read it into the record correct? For example, you were born in Lipsk?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. On March 13, 1893?

Mr. LIPTZEN. I don't remember whether it was 1892 or 1893, but anyhow it is close.

Mr. STRIPLING. You immigrated to the United States in April 1909?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. You have resided continuously in the United States from 1909 to 1934?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Except as I was in Canada on those two occasions.

Mr. STRIPLING. Now, Mr. Chairman, I would like for the witness to examine this photostat [handing to witness].

Mr. Liptzen, the oath of allegiance says:

That I will solemnly support the Constitution of the United States, and that I take this obligation freely, without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion, so help me God—

and then the name "Samuel Liptzen," which is a signature, appears thereon.

Now I ask you, Mr. Liptzen, is that your signature?

Mr. LIPTZEN. No, sir; it isn't my signature.

Mr. STRIPLING. It is not your signature?

Mr. LIPTZEN. No; absolutely not.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever sign your name at any time—did it appear in any such style of writing as that?

Mr. LIPTZEN. This is, I am sure—this I am sure is not my signature.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever apply for a passport?

Mr. LIPTZEN. No, never.

Mr. STRIPLING. This is obviously not your picture which appears thereon?

Mr. LIPTZEN. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you ever seen the individual whose picture appears on this passport under the name of Samuel Liptzen?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Never.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know who this is?

Mr. LIPTZEN. I know now, from the press.

Mr. STRIPLING. Who do you understand that to be?

Mr. LIPTZEN. I never saw the person, but one thing sure, that is not my picture.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know who that is?

Mr. LIPTZEN. I could imagine.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know?

Mr. LIPTZEN. I don't know him, I never saw him in my life, but I could imagine.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, in order to have obtained this passport, the naturalization papers of Samuel Liptzen must have accompanied this passport application, and since the application was issued by the Department of State on August 31, 1934, I would like to ask the witness if he has with him his naturalization papers.

Mr. STRIPLING. The naturalization papers which were issued to you in 1917, do you now have those papers?

Mr. LIPTZEN. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where are those papers?

Mr. LIPTZEN. When I came here a couple of years ago I explained it.

Mr. STRIPLING. What do you mean, "when you came here"?

Mr. LIPTZEN. I came to ask for a duplicate.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where are your original naturalization papers?

Mr. LIPTZEN. It was robbed from my house. I used to live that time at Fourteenth Street.

Mr. STRIPLING. Give for the record the exact address on Fourteenth Street where you lived?

Mr. LIPTZEN. It was 228 or 230 West Fourteenth Street.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was it 208 West Fourteenth Street?

Mr. LIPTZEN. No; I never lived there.

Mr. STRIPLING. All right, give the correct address.

Mr. LIPTZEN. 228 or 230.

Mr. STRIPLING. It is important, Mr. Chairman, to get the exact address, and I would like the witness to refresh his recollection as to the exact address that he was living at when he claims his naturalization papers were stolen or robbed.

At what address were you living?

Mr. LIPTZEN. At 228 or 230 Fourteenth Street, between Second Avenue and Third Avenue.

Mr. STRIPLING. How many years did you live there?

Mr. LIPTZEN. I lived there about 3 or 4 years.

Mr. STRIPLING. If you lived there for 3 or 4 years you certainly know whether it was 228 or 230.

Mr. LIPTZEN. I just couldn't remember.

Mr. STRIPLING. Will you relate to the committee the circumstances of this robbery?

Mr. LIPTZEN. We used to live on the third floor. During the night—

Mr. STRIPLING (interposing). Give us a date.

Mr. LIPTZEN. It is impossible for me to remember.

The CHAIRMAN. What year?

Mr. LIPTZEN. About 1932 or 1933.

The CHAIRMAN. What time of the year?

Mr. LIPTZEN. It was in the beginning of the summer, because the window was opened, through the fire escape they put a broom, through from the fire escape.

Mr. STRIPLING. What year was this?

Mr. LIPTZEN. 1932 or 1933, I can't remember exactly.

Mr. STRIPLING. How many times have you been robbed in your life?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Twice. Once in Thirty-sixth Street.

Mr. STRIPLING. What year was that?

Mr. LIPTZEN. It was about 6 years ago; nobody was in the house.

Mr. STRIPLING. That was in 1936?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Can you state to the committee the year you were robbed the first time, in which you claim your naturalization papers were stolen?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Exactly I can't remember; the superintendent called the police and they took some measurements.

Mr. STRIPLING. Whom did you live with at 228 or 230 West Fourteenth Street?

Mr. LIPTZEN. With the same family that I live now.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is their name?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Halland.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where do they reside at the present time?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Now, as I said, in Boston; and the son is married, in Baltimore.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you have his address in Baltimore?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Not with me.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is his name?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Sol Halland.

Mr. STRIPLING. What kind of business is he in?

Mr. LIPTZEN. He just came back from the Navy, so now, I believe, he is a salesman for liquor business.

Mr. STRIPLING. You can't recall the year in which this robbery occurred?

Mr. LIPTZEN. It was about that time, because in 1935 or 1934 I left, so I believe it was in 1932 or 1933 at that time.

Mr. STRIPLING. What else was taken during this robbery?

Mr. LIPTZEN. They took out everything. They took some clothes, and two satchels, some money, a wrist watch, and many things.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was any of it ever recovered?

Mr. LIPTZEN. No; the police never reported anything.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did you obtain new naturalization papers?

Mr. LIPTZEN. I don't remember exactly, because when I got sick and I had to go to Los Angeles and I believe it was when I came back.

Mr. STRIPLING. You didn't report the robbery yourself?

Mr. LIPTZEN. I did. I hollered so the superintendent of the house, he ran down and called the police; it was about 3 or 3:30 in the morning, and so the police came up and I told them all about what happened.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you talk to the police?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Certainly.

Mr. STRIPLING. What precinct were the police assigned to?

Mr. LIPTZEN. In that neighborhood, I suppose.

Mr. STRIPLING. You say that was 1932 or 1933?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. You were aware at that time that your naturalization papers had been stolen?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you report that fact?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Certainly; I told them that everything I had in valuables in the suitcase, everything was taken out.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did you make application for the new naturalization papers?

Mr. LIPTZEN. I don't remember exactly now, because since I suffered on dye poisoning it is hard for me to remember, but I believe it was a couple of years later when I came back to my health.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever loan anyone your naturalization papers?

Mr. LIPTZEN. No, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. You did not?

Mr. LIPTZEN. No, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Mr. Leon Josephson?

Mr. LIPTZEN. I never met him, I just saw in the papers.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Mr. Leon Josephson?

Mr. LIPTZEN. No, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. You never met him?

Mr. LIPTZEN. I never met him, and I don't know him.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you ever questioned by any other agency of the Federal Government concerning this passport?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. What year was that?

Mr. LIPTZEN. It was about 5 years ago.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was it in 1940?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Maybe in that time, 1940 or 1941.

Mr. STRIPLING. You still can't remember when you obtained the second copy of your naturalization papers?

Mr. LIPTZEN. No, sir; because at that time I was very sick and I can't remember.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Gerhardt Eisler?

Mr. LIPTZEN. I just know his name through the press.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever see Gerhardt Eisler?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Never in my life.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know a man by the name of Edwards who resembles the picture which appears on this passport?

Mr. LIPTZEN. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know anyone by the name of Hans Berger?

Mr. LIPTZEN. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you ever seen who resembles the photograph which appears on this passport application, in the building where your office is located at the present time?

Mr. LIPTZEN. I wasn't in the office at that time; I mean according to the date that this paper was made out, so how could I see him?

Mr. STRIPLING. In the last 10 years?

Mr. LIPTZEN. I never met the person.

Mr. STRIPLING. That is all I have.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Vail?

Mr. VAIL. As I got your original statement, you arrived in the United States from Russia in 1899?

Mr. LIPTZEN. No; 1909.

Mr. VAIL. What you have in the record, Mr. Reporter, would you read it?

(Record read as follows:)

Mr. STRIPLING. When did you come to the United States?

Mr. LIPTZEN. 1909.

Mr. VAIL. That is all.

TESTIMONY OF EDWARD KUNTZ—Resumed

Mr. NIXON. You are the attorney for the Morning Freiheit?

Mr. KUNTZ. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. Are you also the attorney for the Daily Worker?

Mr. KUNTZ. I was for a number of years, until a year ago.

Mr. NIXON. You were the attorney for the Daily Worker until a year ago?

Mr. KUNTZ. I think it was until May of last year. I had been their attorney for 8 or 10 years.

Mr. NIXON. The office of the Freiheit and Daily Worker are in the same building?

Mr. KUNTZ. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. Physically how far apart are they? Is this a large office building?

Mr. KUNTZ. The building is nine stories high. I can tell you from general knowledge that it is owned by a corporation which rents out space to various organizations; one is the Morning Freiheit, which occupies the entire sixth floor. The Daily Worker now has its business office on the second floor, its editorial offices are on the entire eighth floor. The Communist Party occupies part of the building; I believe the national office occupies the ninth floor, and the State office occupies the fifth floor.

Mr. NIXON. Who has the seventh floor?

Mr. KUNTZ. I think the seventh floor is the composing room of the F. & D. Printing Co., which is a corporation which has its composing room on the seventh floor, its office on the seventh floor and its presses in the basement. The F. & D. Printing Co., owning the presses and the composition, does work for the Daily Worker and for the Freiheit, and for others.

May I give this information, since I happened to represent both the Daily Worker and Freiheit? The F. & D. Printing Co. bills the Daily Worker and Freiheit. They pay rent in the building the same as the other organizations that pay rent in the building.

Mr. NIXON. Isn't it true that the Daily Worker and Freiheit have similar contributing reporters in some cases?

Mr. KUNTZ. No sir; that is a misconception. I would say this, if you want my honest opinion, that the Daily Worker is much further to the left than the Freiheit.

Mr. NIXON. You said a moment ago that the Freiheit had some Communists on its staff.

Mr. KUNTZ. It has, and some are non-Communists; a man like Scholem Aash is a non-Communist, and those people are regular contributors. As a matter of fact, I think Scholem Aash, who has written many books, is known throughout the world as a liberal writer.

Mr. NIXON. Isn't it true, though, that in looking over the issues of the Freiheit and the Daily Worker, that you will find instances where the same contributors have written for the Daily Worker at one time and the Freiheit at others?

Mr. KUNTZ. I doubt it very much. I don't think I have looked at an edition of the Freiheit more than two or three times in my life. I don't know a word of the language, but from my business connections with them I doubt whether they use the same writers. I think that might happen some time; the Daily Worker might have an article in its paper and subsequently the Freiheit may get permission to reprint it. They, however, are two separate organizations.

A couple of years ago we changed the Freiheit from a business organization—and I did this myself—to a membership corporation which now has members all over the country, and as a matter of fact it has also a board of directors, and they are some Communists and non-Communists. The Freiheit has tried to keep itself as a broad paper and not simply from the Communist view.

Mr. NIXON. Is there a cafeteria in this building?

Mr. KUNTZ. There was some years ago.

Mr. NIXON. Where do the people who work in the building go to lunch?

Mr. KUNTZ. There are a number of restaurants right in the neighborhood. There used to be a cafeteria some years ago, but there hasn't been any since the war.

TESTIMONY OF SAMUEL LIPTZEN—Resumed

Mr. NIXON. During the time that you worked in the Freiheit you said that you carried bundles for them sometimes; is that the case?

Mr. LIPTZEN. I do everything.

Mr. NIXON. A man of all work?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Since I had to give up the job on account of my sickness I got a job there on the floor.

Mr. NIXON. You carry messages?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Yes, bundles; all kind of work.

Mr. NIXON. You work daily, do you?

Mr. LIPTZEN. I come 9 o'clock until about 7 o'clock in the evening.

Mr. NIXON. Now, you ride up in the elevator, I presume, to the sixth floor?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. And during that time, the years that you worked at the Freiheit, you saw people who worked in the other offices in the building, too, didn't you?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Sometimes I met them coming up in the elevator.

Mr. NIXON. You might see them, maybe in the restaurants or drug store, too?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Sometimes it happens.

Mr. NIXON. And during that time you can't recall ever having seen the man whose picture Mr. Stripling showed you a few minutes ago?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Absolutely not.

Mr. NIXON. Did you ever see anybody who worked in the Daily Worker, while you were working in that building?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Yes, sometimes, but I don't know the names of them. I don't speak very well English, so naturally I am not acquainted with them.

Mr. NIXON. You don't remember seeing a person who looked like that?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. Your answer would be the same, even though you knew that this man worked in the same building at the same time that you worked there?

Mr. LIPTZEN. No; if I knew the man I would state if I knew the man or not.

Mr. NIXON. You were in Canada in 1945, just 2 days?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Two or three days.

Mr. NIXON. You spent all that time in Toronto?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Yes I was; there collecting bills.

TESTIMONY OF EDWARD KUNTZ—Resumed

Mr. BONNER. Mr. Kuntz, you stated that you represented the Daily Worker and the Freiheit as private attorney?

Mr. KUNTZ. I did represent the Daily Worker; I don't now.

Mr. BONNER. Who else do you represent?

Mr. KUNTZ. I represent a couple of trade unions, I represent a number of business clients.

Mr. BONNER. You are a general attorney?

Mr. KUNTZ. My practice is general, I would say, with an emphasis on labor.

Mr. BONNER. Who owns the building in which the Daily Worker and the Freiheit are edited or published?

Mr. KUNTZ. I really can't say. It was a corporation which was formed before I began to represent any of them in the building.

Mr. BONNER. You represented them as general counsel at a retainer, and you were retained by both of them?

Mr. KUNTZ. That is correct.

Mr. BONNER. How long were you retained by the Daily Worker?

Mr. KUNTZ. I should say about 10 years.

Mr. BONNER. How long were you retained by the Freiheit?

Mr. KUNTZ. About a year longer.

Mr. BONNER. About 11 years?

Mr. KUNTZ. Yes.

Mr. BONNER. What is the number of stories in that building?

Mr. KUNTZ. Nine.

Mr. BONNER. They are the principal occupants, are they not, these two?

Mr. KUNTZ. No.

Mr. BONNER. Name for me the other occupants.

Mr. KUNTZ. Ninth floor, the National Committee of the Communist Party, occupying the entire ninth floor.

Mr. BONNER. Did you ever represent them?

Mr. KUNTZ. No. On the seventh floor is the composition rooms of the F. & D. Printing Co.

Mr. BONNER. They set up and print the work for all the organizations in this building?

Mr. KUNTZ. In and out of the building.

Mr. BONNER. Practically all in the building?

Mr. KUNTZ. I wouldn't say just the Freiheit and Daily Worker. The sixth floor is occupied by the Freiheit; the fifth floor is the State Committee of the Communist Party. I swear I couldn't tell you now who occupies the second, third, or fourth floors.

Mr. BONNER. Would you answer me this, then: All the occupants are more or less along this general line?

Mr. KUNTZ. If you would use the words "left wing" I would agree with you.

Mr. BONNER. The Daily Worker, was that owned and published by the Communist Party?

Mr. KUNTZ. Not during my time.

Mr. BONNER. Your time was 11 years?

Mr. KUNTZ. For the past 7 years that I know of it wasn't owned or published by the Communist Party. It was always published by a private corporation.

Mr. BONNER. The Daily Worker, though, was the mouthpiece for the Communist Party during the time that you represented them?

Mr. KUNTZ. For several years that I first represented them I think that the Daily Worker was the official organ of the Communist Party. In other words, official statements made by the Communist Party were published in the Daily Worker.

Mr. BONNER. Were they ever sued for libel while you represented them?

Mr. KUNTZ. Yes.

Mr. BONNER. Then you knew their assets?

Mr. KUNTZ. I wasn't too familiar with them.

Mr. BONNER. You were their attorney for 11 years?

Mr. KUNTZ. I didn't have much of that stuff. I had a number of libel suits on which I represented them, and that was my main work.

Mr. BONNER. And you say you don't know who owns this building?

Mr. KUNTZ. It is a corporation. The name escapes me.

Mr. BONNER. Who issued the lease that you negotiated for the Daily Worker for occupancy in this building?

Mr. KUNTZ. I never negotiated the lease, and I don't know who signed it. It was done between the corporation that owns the building and the corporation that owns the Daily Worker.

Mr. BONNER. Did they have another firm of attorneys?

Mr. KUNTZ. No.

Mr. BONNER. They have come to you for counsel, then, in leasing property?

Mr. KUNTZ. No; they never consulted me on any lease.

Mr. BONNER. Who drew up their contract for a lease? Who were their attorneys, and they didn't have any other attorneys.

Mr. KUNTZ. I believe that the corporation that owns the building is represented by counsel, and I would presume—I don't know—that the counsel for the building corporation, whatever the name happens to be, would probably draw the lease, and since they are all friendly I have never been called in on the lease. I have never seen their lease, and I tell you that I had nothing to do with the business office of the Daily Worker. My work, mainly, was the libel work. Some people got the idea that I knew something about libel, and that is how I became the attorney for the Daily Worker.

Mr. BONNER. Did you represent the Communist Party?

Mr. KUNTZ. No.

Mr. BONNER. And you don't know who owns the building, without checking the record?

Mr. KUNTZ. I don't know the name of the corporation.

Mr. BONNER. Does the Daily Worker own any stock in the corporation?

Mr. KUNTZ. I don't believe so.

Mr. BONNER. Does the Freiheit own any stock in the corporation?

Mr. KUNTZ. I don't believe so.

Mr. BONNER. You would know about it if they did?

Mr. KUNTZ. Not necessarily. I didn't handle much of the business affairs; mainly the legal affairs arising out of the public themselves.

Mr. BONNER. You stated the building as a whole is occupied—

Mr. KUNTZ. By left wing.

The CHAIRMAN. You said, Mr. Kuntz, that they didn't submit the lease to you. You suggested that since they were all friendly that apparently they saw no necessity of submitting it to counsel. Did you mean to infer by that that the Freiheit and Daily Worker were friendly with the owners of the building?

Mr. KUNTZ. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know that as a matter of fact?

Mr. KUNTZ. Oh, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't know the owners of the building. How do you know that they were friendly?

Mr. KUNTZ. You hear it around. The person that I know in charge of the building is Charles—I always call him Charlie—the second name slips my mind for the second. I could check that.

TESTIMONY OF SAMUEL LIPTZEN—Resumed

Mr. BONNER. Mr. Liptzen, when was the Freiheit established? Of course, I know you are absent-minded, but try to remember.

Mr. LIPTZEN. It was 25 years ago, about.

Mr. BONNER. When did you begin to work for them?

Mr. LIPTZEN. For the last 3 or 4 years. I used to come up there sometimes, but I always worked in the shops in the needle trades.

Mr. BONNER. Was that in that building?

Mr. LIPTZEN. No.

Mr. BONNER. When did you go to the Freiheit?

Mr. LIPTZEN. About 3 years ago.

Mr. BONNER. And what did you do then when you went to work for them? What were your duties?

Mr. LIPTZEN. In the Freiheit?

Mr. BONNER. In the Freiheit.

Mr. LIPTZEN. As I said, in the summer time I am collecting.

Mr. BONNER. You were a solicitor for circulation?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Yes, collecting bills. In the wintertime I am helping them in the stock room on the floor.

Mr. BONNER. That was 3 years ago. When did you begin to be the handyman around there?

Mr. LIPTZEN. When I got sick.

Mr. BONNER. How long ago has that been?

Mr. LIPTZEN. About 5 years.

Mr. BONNER. But you haven't been with the Freiheit but 3 years?

Mr. LIPTZEN. So, when I left the fur trade I got sick, so then I worked in the mountains.

Mr. BONNER. You have been with the Freiheit 3 years?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Yes.

Mr. BONNER. You began with them as solicitor for circulation and collecting the bills?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Yes.

Mr. BONNER. How long did you continue just in that?

Mr. LIPTZEN. When it was slack I used to do this work sometimes.

Mr. BONNER. One of the years, two of the years?

Mr. LIPTZEN. All of the time.

Mr. BONNER. But now you are just sort of a handyman?

Mr. LIPTZEN. No, also in the summertime I am collecting bills.

Mr. BONNER. Why do you have to have a private office?

Mr. LIPTZEN. I haven't got any private office.

Mr. BONNER. Well, you speak of your office.

Mr. LIPTZEN. That is the office of the building, of the Freiheit.

Mr. BONNER. How many other people are there in this one office that you are in?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Many people.

Mr. BONNER. It is just one big space?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Yes; everybody comes in and works there.

Mr. BONNER. How many desks are in that office?

Mr. LIPTZEN. One desk.

Mr. BONNER. Who sits at that desk?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Sometimes, when I have to check up my things I am sitting there.

Mr. BONNER. Who is the head man in the Freiheit?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Lechovitzky. He is the manager of it.

Mr. BONNER. What is his political affiliation?

Mr. LIPTZEN. He is the manager.

Mr. BONNER. Does he belong to any political party, as far as you know?

Mr. LIPTZEN. I don't know, but he is just the manager who is managing it, but I don't know exactly where he belongs.

Mr. BONNER. Has he ever talked to you about any political party?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Just lately, about a year and a half—we never had a discussion.

Mr. BONNER. What party did he talk to you about?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Lately he came here, about a year and a half——

Mr. BONNER. He has been there only one and a half years?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Yes.

Mr. BONNER. You and he are closely associated together, aren't you?

Mr. LIPTZEN. No, he has his manager's office. I am there when I have to do some work.

Mr. BONNER. Does he ever talk to you about the policy of the publication?

Mr. LIPTZEN. No.

Mr. BONNER. Does he ever talk to you about any public affairs?

Mr. LIPTZEN. No.

Mr. BONNER. What does he talk to you about?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Like a memorial evening, like a concert, some affairs to raise money; so this he gives me the directions what I have to do and I am carrying through to deliver the things whatever is necessary.

Mr. BONNER. Of course you are under oath in your testimony; you realize that, don't you?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Yes, absolutely.

Mr. BONNER. And you tell me that he has never talked to you about any political affiliations?

Mr. LIPTZEN. No.

Mr. BONNER. Has he ever talked to you about Communist activities?

Mr. LIPTZEN. No, never.

Mr. BONNER. Have you ever talked to him about Communist activities?

Mr. LIPTZEN. No, never.

Mr. BONNER. Who were present with you when you received this summons to come down to Washington?

Mr. LIPTZEN. I can't remember; I think I was by myself, or the girl was inside.

Mr. BONNER. Did you tell anybody immediately that you had received the summons to come to Washington to appear before this committee? Who was the first person that you informed?

Mr. LIPTZEN. The first thing I didn't inform anybody.

Mr. BONNER. The summons was served on you?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Yes.

Mr. BONNER. How long after the summons was served did you receive a message from Boston?

Mr. LIPTZEN. I called them every day there, so when I called there they told me she was going to be operated.

Mr. BONNER. After you found out she was ill did you discuss the fact that you were called to Washington with anybody locally around the building, or anybody else in New York?

Mr. LIPTZEN. I don't think I talked to anybody about it.

Mr. BONNER. Nobody advised you the type of telegram you sent to Washington?

Mr. LIPTZEN. I asked the girl that I want to send the telegram.

Mr. BONNER. What girl?

Mr. LIPTZEN. One of the office girls.

Mr. BONNER. What is her name?

Mr. LIPTZEN. I think Sonya or Rose, one of the two. It was Sonya, I believe.

Mr. BONNER. What is her full name?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Sonya Halperin.

Mr. BONNER. Now, you told her that you had received a notice to appear in Washington?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Yes.

Mr. BONNER. Did you tell her also that you had called this lady in Boston?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Yes.

Mr. BONNER. Then what did you ask her?

Mr. LIPTZEN. I said I wanted to send a telegram because I wouldn't be able on such short notice to come.

Mr. BONNER. Did you dictate the telegram to this girl?

Mr. LIPTZEN. No; I explained it to her, what I wanted.

Mr. BONNER. Did you choose that language?

Mr. LIPTZEN. No, she knows English and she typed it.

Mr. BONNER. Did you keep a copy of the telegram?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Well, I suppose maybe she got a copy; I don't know.

Mr. BONNER. Why would she keep a copy?

Mr. LIPTZEN. I don't know.

Mr. BONNER. Do you have a copy? You said that it is probable that she may have a copy. Does she do your general correspondence?

Mr. LIPTZEN. No, not all, but any time I need anything, one girl does all the correspondence in the office, but when I need anything specially this moment so I came in to the girl who was sitting without work, so I asked her to do it.

Mr. BONNER. Gradually, over this period of years, your handwriting has improved. When you first came to America you couldn't write?

Mr. LIPTZEN. That's right.

Mr. BONNER. And gradually you have been able to speak the English language?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Yes.

Mr. BONNER. And you have learned to read the English language?

Mr. LIPTZEN. I don't read very well.

Mr. BONNER. You can write better than when you first came?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Yes.

Mr. BONNER. And you try to write better all the time, to improve your writing?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Yes.

Mr. BONNER. Have you changed the style of your writing any since you first came?

Mr. LIPTZEN. I don't know. I could look it up; if I have anything I signed a year ago I could look it up.

Mr. BONNER. But there has been an improvement in your writing?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Sometimes it is improved and sometimes it gets worse.

The CHAIRMAN. I have a couple of questions to ask Mr. Birmingham. Will you take the stand, please, Mr. Birmingham?

TESTIMONY OF STEPHEN W. BIRMINGHAM

(The witness was sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Will you state your full name for the record?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. Stephen W. Birmingham.

Mr. NIXON. What is your occupation?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. Detective, licensed by the State of New York.

Mr. NIXON. Did you serve the subpoena which we have been discussing on Samuel Liptzen?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. I did.

Mr. NIXON. Will you state for the record when and where you served that subpoena?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. About 4:45 p. m. on February 4.

Mr. NIXON. Where?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. At 35 East Thirteenth Street, New York City, on the sixth floor of the Communist Party headquarters.

Mr. NIXON. You served it on the sixth floor?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. Yes; of the Communist Party headquarters, in the office of the Morning Freiheit.

Mr. NIXON. Who was present in the office when you served the subpoena?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. Only Mr. Liptzen.

Mr. NIXON. Where was he? Mr. Birmingham. He was sitting behind a double desk, with his coat off, writing on some papers, and as I went into the building I said, "Where is Liptzen's office?" They said, "It is in the back there. You go all the way." Somebody walked along with me, and I said, "Where, to the right?" And they said, "No, it is the big office in the corner." I served the subpoena.

TESTIMONY OF SAMUEL LIPTZEN—Resumed

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Liptzen, you received this subpoena at 4:45 on that afternoon?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. What did you do then, did you contact Sonya Halperin immediately?

Mr. LIPTZEN. No, first I had in my mind to go to Washington, but when I called Boston—

Mr. NIXON. When did you call Boston?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Usually every day.

Mr. NIXON. What time on this day did you call Boston?

Mr. LIPTZEN. It was about 5 o'clock.

Mr. NIXON. And then what did you do after that? Did you get hold of Sonya Halperin?

Mr. LIPTZEN. I went into her office, where she works.

Mr. NIXON. Where does she work?

Mr. LIPTZEN. In the general office.

Mr. NIXON. In the general office of the Morning Freiheit?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. She was employed there?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. What is her capacity there?

Mr. LIPTZEN. A clerk.

Mr. NIXON. She is a clerk, stenographer?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Stenographer or bookkeeper, I don't know.

Mr. NIXON. You took this subpoena to her and told her to prepare a telegram telling them that you could not come to Washington?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. She prepared the telegram?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. Who paid for it?

Mr. LIPTZEN. I paid.

Mr. NIXON. Did you deliver it to the telegraph office?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Yes, certainly, on Broadway and Thirteenth Street.

Mr. NIXON. And you did that the same day that the paper was served on you?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. At about 5:30; is that right?

Mr. LIPTZEN. I believe it was that time.

Mr. BONNER. But you said you sent it immediately after you got the telephone call to Boston?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Yes.

Mr. BONNER. Will you explain this to me then: The summons was served on you on the 4th of February, at the hour of 4:45 p. m. Your testimony is that you immediately called Boston, after learning that the lady was sick and had to be operated on you called Miss Sonya Halperin and told her what you wanted to do, and she wrote the wire and sent it to Washington. That is correct, is it?

Mr. LIPTZEN. That is correct.

Mr. BONNER. That is what you did?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Yes.

Mr. BONNER. Well, the telegram shows that on February 5 the wire was sent at 6 o'clock in the evening.

Mr. LIPTZEN. When I was called to Washington, for the 5th?

The CHAIRMAN. Are you asking us?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Yes, because I don't remember the date when I was called to Washington, because this was on the same——

The CHAIRMAN. Let me explain to you, so that you know what you have said. You said that the subpoena was served on the 4th, and Mr. Birmingham testified that he served the subpoena on the 4th.

Mr. LIPTZEN. What day was that?

The CHAIRMAN. That was a Tuesday. This telegram, as Mr. Bonner points out, was sent on the 5th, on the following day, in the evening.

Mr. LIPTZEN. What date I was supposed to be in Washington, on Thursday?

Mr. VAIL. Mr. Liptzen, you were a member of the Communist Party at the time you went into the employ of the Freiheit. How did you become associated with the paper? Did you make written application for employment?

Mr. LIPTZEN. No, it was at that time I worked in the mountains, and there was a shortage of labor so they told me I could get a job, much better to work there instead of the mountains, and I accepted the job on the Freiheit.

Mr. VAIL. Was it a requirement of your employment that you be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. LIPTZEN. I don't know about that. It was because of the shortage of labor.

Mr. VAIL. Did they ask you, when you were employed, whether or not you are a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. LIPTZEN. No. Most of the people employed by the Freiheit are not members of the Communist Party.

Mr. VAIL. When did you begin to write articles, books?

Mr. LIPTZEN. I am writing humorous stories; not as a writer, but just as a contributor, who is sending them in.

Mr. VAIL. Are you the author of this book, *In Spite of Tears*?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Yes.

Mr. VAIL. Is this the product of your own mind?

Mr. LIPTZEN. I wrote in Jewish, and this was translated, but I didn't read through the book yet because it is very hard for me to read English, so I don't know what is there.

Mr. VAIL. Are you the author of these several pages of proverbs that are in the back of the book?

Mr. LIPTZEN. In Jewish; yes.

Mr. VAIL. The book was written in Jewish and all of your writings are in Jewish and are translated into English?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Yes.

Mr. VAIL. You arrived at the age of 17 and you still write in Jewish?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Yes.

Mr. VAIL. You are still writing books and material?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Yes.

Mr. VAIL. Have you written anything for either of the two papers?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Yes; but in Jewish.

Mr. VAIL. You are a contributor to the newspaper as well as a laborer in the service of the same paper?

Mr. LIPTZEN. I have time; sometimes I could write a story, but I am not on the pay roll of writers.

Mr. VAIL. Doesn't it seem a little unusual that a man of your capacity, as indicated by the quality of this book, should be relegated to menial labor?

(There was no response.)

TESTIMONY OF EDWARD KUNTZ—Resumed

Mr. VAIL. Mr. Kuntz, are you associated with the Communist Party?

Mr. KUNTZ. No.

Mr. VAIL. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Anything further, Mr. Stripling?

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you ever at any time affiliated with the Communist Party?

Mr. KUNTZ. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you represent any organizations in the United States? Have you ever been attorney for the International Labor Defense?

Mr. KUNTZ. The International Labor Defense up to about 6 or 8 years ago had a staff of volunteer lawyers who did work in the labor field. For 2 or 3 years I was head of what we call the legal staff of the ILD; at one time we had about 250 or 300 lawyers, and I was elected the chairman of that staff 2 or 3 years running. I think I was chairman at the time the legal staff was dissolved.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Kuntz, you say you represented the Daily Worker for 10 years, and Morning Freiheit for 11 years?

Mr. KUNTZ. I would say about that.

Mr. STRIPLING. You also headed the legal staff of the International Labor Defense?

Mr. KUNTZ. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. You must be very familiar with the Communist set-up in the United States.

Mr. KUNTZ. Pretty well. I have made a study of it, and tried a number of cases.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you think that the Communist Party would permit anyone to be their general counsel or do you think that the Daily Worker would permit anyone to be their general counsel who was not a Communist, or very sympathetic to communism?

Mr. KUNTZ. I don't think that would be the test.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you sympathetic to communism?

Mr. KUNTZ. Most of it.

Mr. STRIPLING. You were never a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. KUNTZ. No. You can ask that question 40 different ways and you will still get the same truthful answers. If you ask me my opinions I will tell you that.

Mr. STRIPLING. You stated categorically to Mr. Vail's questions that you are not a Communist.

Mr. KUNTZ. That's right.

Mr. STRIPLING. You don't know that you are sympathetic to Communists?

Mr. KUNTZ. Yes, I am sympathetic to a number of their views.

Mr. STRIPLING. At this point I would like to put into the record the history of Mr. Kuntz, which has been accumulated from documents. I won't read it into the record at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. STRIPLING. I would like the record to show the date that you went to Canada, Mr. Kuntz.

Mr. KUNTZ. I think it was the summer that my daughter graduated from Cornell.

Mr. STRIPLING. You stated that you had never been out of the United States but once?

Mr. KUNTZ. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. You certainly would remember that date.

Mr. KUNTZ. I wouldn't remember your name 3 minutes after I left here.

TESTIMONY OF SAMUEL LIPTZEN—Resumed

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Liptzen, do you know of anyone by the name of C. Kelner?

Mr. LIPTZEN. I met him some time on the elevator.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is his position?

Mr. LIPTZEN. I don't know exactly what his position is in the building.

Mr. STRIPLING. What does he do?

Mr. LIPTZEN. I saw him fixing a lock downstairs, so I suppose he takes care of things.

Mr. STRIPLING. Does he write articles for the Freiheit?

Mr. LIPTZEN. He is not a writer; I don't know.

Mr. STRIPLING. He never wrote an article?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Probably he could write an article for a certain occasion, but he is not a writer.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know whether he ever wrote articles?

Mr. LIPTZEN. It is hard to remember, but I could imagine that a man has sometimes to write articles to certain occasions.

Mr. STRIPLING. I would like to ask you then, Mr. Liptzen, if Mr. Kelner in any way resembles the picture which appears on the passport which was issued on August 31, 1934?

Mr. LIPTZEN. No, not so far as I know.

TESTIMONY OF EDWARD KUNTZ—Resumed

Mr. STRIPLING. I would like to ask you, Mr. Kuntz, if you are familiar with C. Kelner?

Mr. KUNTZ. I know Charlie Kelner very well. I think he is the manager, or runs the building; that is the man whose first name I gave as Charlie, and whose last name I couldn't remember before.

Mr. STRIPLING. I ask you to look at the passport of August 31, 1934, and ask you if the picture resembles Kelner [handing passport to witness]?

Mr. KUNTZ. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. I would like you to state if you have ever seen anyone who resembles the picture?

Mr. KUNTZ. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Gerhardt Eisler?

Mr. KUNTZ. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Hans Berger?

Mr. KUNTZ. I read some articles in the Daily Worker; I saw Gerhardt Eisler when they argued the writ.

Mr. STRIPLING. But you never saw him before that time?

Mr. KUNTZ. I sat in the lawyers' row, and he was in the first spectators' row, and I looked at him. Never before have I seen that man in my life, to my knowledge.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Mr. Leon Josephson?

Mr. KUNTZ. Yes, I used to be a habitue of cafe society until the 1st of October, when I went on the water wagon.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did you first meet Leon Josephson?

Mr. KUNTZ. I should say in the last 5 or 6 years, by going into Cafe Society as a patron.

Mr. STRIPLING. You were a frequent patron of Cafe Society uptown and downtown?

Mr. KUNTZ. More uptown.

Mr. STRIPLING. When you were identified with the legal staff of the ILD, were you ever associated in any way with Mr. Josephson?

Mr. KUNTZ. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you know him at that time?

Mr. KUNTZ. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you ever seen Leon Josephson in the building where the Communist Party is located in New York?

Mr. KUNTZ. I used to go there very seldom myself.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where is your office now?

Mr. KUNTZ. In the Guardian Life Building, Seventeenth Street and Fourth Avenue, and I used to go there more frequently when I represented the Daily Worker. Since last year, when I ceased representing them, I don't believe I go to the building more than once in 2 or 3 months.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, I would like for you to instruct Mr. Liptzen that he is not excused, due to his appearance here this morning on the subpoena which was served upon him on February 4 to appear in Washington before the full committee on February 6 at 10 o'clock. Instruct him that that matter is still pending for consideration by the full committee.

I should also ask that the Chair instruct him that the forthwith subpoena that was served upon him today, which was served by this subcommittee, will remain in force until Mr. Liptzen is excused.

Mr. KUNTZ. My letter to the committee still goes, that I will have Mr. Liptzen here any time the committee wants him.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Liptzen, did you hear the statement that was made by Mr. Stripling just now?

Mr. LIPTZEN. I heard part of it.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Reporter, will you read the statement that Mr. Stripling just made, so that Mr. Liptzen can hear it clearly?

(The statement was read by the reporter.)

The CHAIRMAN. You understand that?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You are so instructed at the present time?

Mr. LIPTZEN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Anything else, Mr. Stripling?

Mr. STRIPLING. That is all I have at the present time.

Mr. Leon Josephson will be the next witness.

Are you represented by counsel, Mr. Josephson?

Mr. JOSEPHSON. Yes, I am.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you desire counsel?

Mr. JOSEPHSON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you raise your right hand to be sworn?

Mr. JOSEPHSON. Before I am sworn, I wish to make a motion——

Mr. STRIPLING. In the interest of orderly procedure I ask that the witness be sworn before any statements are made.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee is perfectly willing to hear motions or statements by the witness at any time that we set that up in the agenda of the hearing——

Mr. JOSEPHSON. I wish to make a motion contesting the constitutionality——

The CHAIRMAN. First of all, do you refuse to be sworn at this time?

Mr. JOSEPHSON. Yes, I refuse to be sworn.

The CHAIRMAN. On what ground?

Mr. JOSEPHSON. I wish to raise the question of the unconstitutionality of this committee, and I propose to take the case through the courts to the United States Supreme Court if necessary.

Mr. STRIPLING. I ask that the witness stand and be sworn. I ask that the Chair administer the oath as witness.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you stand to be sworn at this time?

Mr. JOSEPHSON. I will not.

The CHAIRMAN. You refuse to be sworn?

Mr. JOSEPHSON. I contest the right, the legality of this committee, to examine me.

The CHAIRMAN. You contest the legality of this committee, and on that ground you refuse to be sworn?

Mr. JOSEPHSON. That is correct.

Mr. CHAIRMAN. On the ground that you question the legality of this committee?

Mr. JOSEPHSON. That is correct.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, I would like for the record to show that counsel has accompanied Mr. Josephson, and I would like counsel to give his name and address for the record.

Mr. NEWBURGER. My name is Samuel A. Newburger, 61 Broadway. I should like the record to show that the chairman of this committee prevented the counsel from stating the legal position of this witness, Leon Josephson, in stating a preliminary legal position,

and I offer to this committee the legal position in written form as the statement.

Mr. STRIPLING. I should like to point out that the rights of a committee to insist that witnesses be sworn is very clear. There are no reservations upon which a witness can stand. I would also like the committee to take into consideration as to whether or not they will permit counsel to offer such a statement for the record.

Mr. NEWBURGER. It is our position that the subpoena is invalid for the reasons set forth in the statement which we wish to offer, and since the subpoena is invalid, as my client has been advised by counsel, it is not incumbent upon him to be sworn pursuant to an invalid subpoena.

Mr. BONNER. Is this going to be a part of the record?

Mr. STRIPLING. That will be up to the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. I will entertain a motion at this time that the committee go into executive session to consider the procedure to be followed.

Mr. STRIPLING. Before that is done, Mr. Chairman, I would like to call attention of the committee to a subpoena dated February 3, 1947, which states:

To the Sergeant at Arms, or his Special Messenger:

You are hereby commanded to summon Leon Josephson, 161 West 16th Street, New York, N. Y., to be and appear before the Un-American Activities Committee of the House of Representatives of the United States, of which the Hon. J. Parnell Thomas is Chairman, in their chamber in the City of Washington, on February 6, 1947, in Room 226, Old House Office Building, at the hour of 10 o'clock a. m., and then and there to testify touching matters of inquiry committed to said Committee; and he is not to depart without leave of said Committee.

Herein fail not, and make return of this summons.

Witness my hand, and the Seal of the House of Representatives of the United States at the City of Washington this 3d day of February, 1947.

(Signed) J. PARNELL THOMAS.

Attest:

JOHN ANDREWS, *Clerk*.

That subpoena contains the seal of the House of Representatives. This subpoena was forwarded to New York to be served upon Mr. Josephson. The subpoena was served by Mr. Stephen W. Birmingham at 1:10 p. m. on February 4, at 161 West Sixteenth Street in New York City. On February 5, 6:20 p. m., Mr. Leon Josephson sent the following telegram to the chairman of the Committee on Un-American Activities, which reads as follows:

J. PARNELL THOMAS,

*Chairman, House Committee on Un-American Activities,
Room 226, Old House Office Building:*

Unable appear before your committee February 6th, due inadequate notice of less than 48 hours. Counsel advises me such short notice unreasonable and that I am entitled to reasonable notice. Willing appear at later date fixed by you if reasonable notice given me.

LEON JOSEPHSON.

Mr. Josephson did not appear, and has not appeared before the full committee.

He was served this morning by subpoena calling for his appearance forthwith before the subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities of which Hon. Richard Nixon is chairman.

I should like that this subpoena be made part of the record, and show that Mr. Josephson did appear in the commission chambers, and that he did then and there refuse to be sworn and to testify concerning matters which are pertinent to the commission's inquiries.

I should also like for the committee to take under advisement the remarks made by Mr. Josephson's counsel, and also consider the statement submitted by Mr. Josephson's counsel, and I would also like, Mr. Chairman, since Mr. Josephson is still here, to ask that he stand and be sworn.

THE CHAIRMAN. Mr. Josephson, will you stand and be sworn?

MR. JOSEPHSON. I will not be sworn.

MR. STRIPLING. Will you stand?

MR. JOSEPHSON. I will stand.

(Mr. Josephson stands.)

MR. STRIPLING. Do you refuse to be sworn?

MR. JOSEPHSON. I refuse to be sworn.

MR. STRIPLING. You refuse to give testimony before this subcommittee?

MR. JOSEPHSON. Until I have had an opportunity to determine through the courts the legality of this committee.

THE CHAIRMAN. You refuse to be sworn, and you refuse to give testimony before this committee at this hearing today?

MR. JOSEPHSON. Yes.

MR. STRIPLING. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIRMAN. That is all.

MR. STRIPLING. I would like for the record to show that Mr. Josephson is still considered by this committee to be under the subpoena which was served upon him on February 4, to appear in Washington, D. C., February 6 at 10 a. m., in room 226 before the full Committee on Un-American Activities.

I should also like the record to show that Mr. Josephson was served with a subpoena this date to appear before the subcommittee and that he has not been excused by this subcommittee.

THE CHAIRMAN. The record will so show.

Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

THE CHAIRMAN. The record will show that neither the subpoena of February 3, nor the forthwith subpoena served today has been satisfied, and that they are still in effect and are continued, and that Mr. Josephson has physically appeared, has refused to take the oath and to testify before this committee.

Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

(At this point Mr. Josephson and Mr. Newburger left the hearing room for a few moments.)

(The following colloquy ensued after Mr. Josephson and Mr. Newburger returned to the hearing room:)

THE CHAIRMAN. Mr. Josephson, the subcommittee has taken the matter of your refusal to testify under advisement. You will be notified as to when you will be required to appear before the full committee and before the subcommittee. That is all.

Mr. STRIPLING. Would the record show that notice to Mr. Newburger is sufficient for Mr. Josephson?

Mr. NEWBURGER. Subject to the question of reasonableness.

The CHAIRMAN. Is 3 days all right?

Mr. NEWBURGER. All I can say is that I will follow the same practice as I did in the past.

The CHAIRMAN. We will adjourn, subject to the call of the Chair.

(At 1:15 p. m. the committee adjourned.)

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

FRIDAY, MARCH 21, 1947.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

The committee met at 10 a. m., Hon. J. Parnell Thomas (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The meeting will come to order.

The record will show that a quorum is present, consisting of Mr. McDowell, Mr. Nixon, Mr. Vail, Mr. Rankin, and Mr. Thomas. Also present were Robert E. Stripling, chief investigator; Louis J. Russell; and Donald T. Appel, investigators.

The hearing today is a continuation of the Gerhart Eisler-Leon Josephson case. On February 21, 1947, the Chair appointed a subcommittee to proceed to New York and conduct certain hearings and investigations in connection with Leon Josephson and Samuel Liptzen. The Chair should like to ask the chairman of the subcommittee, Mr. Nixon, if the subcommittee is ready to report to the full committee on their activities in New York.

Mr. NIXON. The subcommittee is ready to report, Mr. Chairman. I should like to read the report of the subcommittee at this time, if it is in order.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. NIXON (reading):

Report of the special subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities, composed of Hon. Richard M. Nixon, chairman; Hon. Richard V. Vail, and Hon. Herbert C. Bonner, appointed on the 21st day of February 1947, to proceed to New York to take the testimony of Leon Josephson and Samuel Liptzen.

On February 6, 1947, in the committee's chambers in Washington, D. C., hearing was held by the full committee of the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, to hear the testimony of Gerhart Eisler, Leon Josephson, Samuel Liptzen, Ruth Fischer, William Nowell, and Louis Budenz, all of whom has been subpoenaed to appear at 10 a. m. on February 6, and to testify concerning matters pertinent to the committee's inquiry into Communist activities in the United States. Leon Josephson and Samuel Liptzen failed to appear. The committee received the following telegrams from these two individuals:

"J. PARNELL THOMAS,

"Chairman, House Committee on Un-American Activities,

"Room 226, Old House Office Building, Washington, D. C.:

"Unable appear before your Committee February 6, due inadequate notice of less than 48 hours. Counsel advises me such short notice unreasonable and that I am entitled to reasonable notice. Willing appear at later date fixed by you if reasonable notice given me.

"LEON JOSEPHSON."

"Congressman J. PARNELL THOMAS,
"Un-American Activities Committee,
"Old House Office Building, Washington, D. C.:

"Critical illness of one very dear to me requires my presence at bedside. Am therefore unable to appear on February sixth. Will attend any other day you set after this week. Please notify me.

"SAMUEL LIPTZEN."

During the hearing on February 6, considerable documentary evidence was presented to the committee which indicated that Leon Josephson and Samuel Liptzen were coconspirators with Gerhart Eisler in the perpetration of certain illegal and subversive acts carried out in furtherance of a Communist conspiracy operating in the United States.

On the 21st day of February 1947, the chairman of the committee, Hon. J. Parnell Thomas, appointed this subcommittee and authorized it to sit in New York City and bring before it Leon Josephson and Samuel Liptzen and determine the following:

1. Had they submitted a bona fide excuse for not appearing before the full committee on February 6 in response to the subpoena which was served upon them.

2. To question them concerning their complicity in various Communist activities as reflected by the documentary evidence before the full committee.

The subcommittee convened in executive session, room 2301, United States Federal Courthouse at 10 a. m., March 5, 1947, at 2 Foley Square, New York City. The following members were present: Hon. Richard M. Nixon (chairman), Hon. Richard B. Vail, Hon. Herbert C. Bonner. Also present were Robert E. Stripling, chief investigator; Louis J. Russell, investigator; Donald Appell, investigator.

The Chair was advised by the chief investigator that arrangements had been made through Edward Kuntz, attorney for Samuel Liptzen, and Samuel A. Newburger, attorney for Leon Josephson, for the appearance of these two witnesses before the subcommittee, this appearance being in furtherance of the original subpoenas which had been served upon Leon Josephson and Samuel Liptzen. The Chair, however, after conferring with the Committee, issued two "forthwith" subpoenas to be served upon Leon Josephson and Samuel Liptzen, calling for their appearance before the subcommittee in New York. These subpoenas were handed to Investigator Louis J. Russell who thereupon served them upon Leon Josephson and Samuel Liptzen in the anteroom of the subcommittee's chambers.

When Gerhart Eisler appeared before the full committee on February 6, 1947, there was introduced into the record a photostatic copy of a passport application which was approved and issued on August 31, 1934, in the name of Samuel Liptzen, but which bore the photograph of Gerhart Eisler. According to the report of Mr. Alwyn Cole, Examiner of Questioned Documents, United States Treasury Department, this passport application was written in the handwriting of Leon Josephson, and the signature of the identifying witness, one Bernard Hirehfield, had also been written in the handwriting of Leon Josephson. When this application was made, the naturalization papers of Samuel Liptzen were filed with the record. Furthermore, the information supplied on the application form regarding date and place of birth, residence, date of naturalization, and physical description corresponded to that of Samuel Liptzen, according to members of the committee's staff who had previously seen Samuel Liptzen. Since the application bore the picture of Gerhart Eisler, and since there was no physical resemblance between Eisler and Liptzen, the subcommittee's principal inquiry was to determine how and under what circumstances this passport was obtained.

Samuel Liptzen was called as the first witness before the subcommittee. He was accompanied by his counsel, Edward Kuntz, who was permitted by the subcommittee to be present with Mr. Liptzen. Liptzen was sworn and testified that he was born in Lipsk, Russia, in 1892 or 1893; that he came to the United States in 1909 and became a citizen in 1917; that he resided at 208 West Fourteenth Street, New York City; that he is presently employed in the office of the Morning Freiheit, as a combination bill collector and shipping clerk. He testified that he is one of the original members of the Communist Party of the United States, having joined in 1920; that he was a candidate for assemblyman in New York on the Communist Party ticket in 1928. He stated that he had never applied for a passport and had never been out of the United States except on three occasions when he went to Canada in 1927, 1928, and 1945 for brief visits.

When questioned by the committee as to how it was possible that his naturalization papers were used in the procurement of the passport for Gerhart Eisler, he stated that in 1932 and 1933 the rooming house where he was residing was burglarized and that his papers and valuables were stolen. He could not remember whether at the time of the burglary he was residing at 228 or 230 West Fourteenth Street. He also could not remember whether the burglary occurred in 1932 or 1933. He could not remember when he made application for a new set of naturalization papers. He denied that he knew Leon Josephson or Gerhart Eisler, although his office, the Morning Freiheit, which is a Yiddish Communist publication, is located in the building which houses the Communist Party headquarters.

During the questioning of Samuel Liptzen, Edward Kuntz, his counsel, sought to interject several answers. Whereupon, with the consent of counsel, he was also sworn in and testified that he was also the attorney for the Morning Freiheit, and the Daily Worker.

Liptzen was questioned at length before the subcommittee members relative to his reasons for not appearing before the full committee February 6. A number of discrepancies were noted in his testimony and the subcommittee suggested that the full committee read the transcript concerning his testimony. Mr. Liptzen was then excused by the subcommittee, but advised that he was still under the jurisdiction of the subpoena served upon him on February 4 calling for his appearance before the full committee on February 6, and also under the "forthwith" subpoena served upon him on that date.

Leon Josephson was called to the stand accompanied by his counsel, Samuel Newburger, 61 Broadway, New York City. He was asked to be sworn. He refused to do so. The following colloquy from the official record will best show the attitude of Mr. Josephson.

"MR. STRIPLING. I ask that the witness stand and be sworn. I ask that the Chair administer the oath to the witness.

"THE CHAIRMAN. Will you stand to be sworn at this time?

"MR. JOSEPHSON. I will not.

"THE CHAIRMAN. You refuse to be sworn?

"MR. JOSEPHSON. I contest the right, the legality of this committee to examine me.

"THE CHAIRMAN. You contest the legality of this committee, and on that ground you refuse to be sworn?

"MR. JOSEPHSON. That is correct.

"THE CHAIRMAN. On the ground that you question the legality of this committee:

"MR. JOSEPHSON. That is correct."

His counsel sought to have made a part of the committee record, two lengthy statements by Leon Josephson which were prepared as press releases and later released to the press. The subcommittee permitted him to file the statements but did not permit them to become a part of the record, because he refused to make the statements under oath. On three different occasions, Mr. Josephson was asked to stand and be sworn. He refused to do so. Whereupon the committee advised him that he was still under the authority of the subpoenas served upon him on February 4 and March 5, and that they were still in force and effect, and he was not excused from either.

Mr. Josephson and his attorney then departed from the committee room, whereupon the subcommittee adjourned.

Recommendations: It is the unanimous opinion of your subcommittee that:

1. Leon Josephson be cited for contempt and that all the evidence in the committee's possession be forwarded to the Attorney General with the recommendation that Leon Josephson be prosecuted for the various violations of the Federal statutes which are manifested by the documentary evidence in the possession of the committee.

2. That Samuel Liptzen be continued under subpoena by the committee; that the chief investigator of the committee be instructed to investigate the discrepancies in his testimony with reference to his failure to appear on February 6, as well as his activities in Canada, and that he be called before the committee at a future date for further questioning.

I might say, certainly, Mr. Chairman, that as far as Mr. Liptzen's activities in Canada in 1945 are concerned, he testified that he had been in Canada for only 3 days; when asked why he was there he said he was collecting bills for the Morning Freiheit.

Mr. McDOWELL. I move that the report of the subcommittee be adopted.

(The report of the subcommittee, upon motion of Mr. McDowell, was unanimously adopted by the committee.)

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Mr. Nixon.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, in view of the fact that it is evident from the subcommittee's report that Mr. Josephson does not intend to appear before the committee and testify, the committee has no recourse other than to submit its own findings for the record regarding the activities of Mr. Josephson.

Mr. Chairman, I should like, at this time, to call one of our investigators, Mr. Louis J. Russell, to the stand. Mr. Russell has made an investigation concerning the activities of Leon Josephson at my request. I think that the committee's findings in this regard should be included in the record. I ask that Mr. Russell be sworn as a witness.

TESTIMONY OF LOUIS J. RUSSELL

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Russell, state your full name for the record, please.

Mr. RUSSELL. Louis James Russell.

Mr. STRIPLING. How long have you been employed by the Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. RUSSELL. Since May 17, 1945.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you ever an employee of the Federal Bureau of Investigation?

Mr. RUSSELL. I was an employee of the Federal Bureau of Investigation for 10 years.

Mr. STRIPLING. In what capacity, as a special agent?

Mr. RUSSELL. As a special agent for 8 years.

Mr. STRIPLING. Does the Chair desire further qualification of Mr. Russell?

The CHAIRMAN. I think that is sufficient.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Russell, did you, at my request, make an investigation relating to the activities of Leon Josephson of 161 West Sixteenth Street, New York, N. Y.?

Mr. RUSSELL. I did.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where was Mr. Josephson born?

Mr. RUSSELL. Leon Josephson was born in Libau, Latvia, which is now a part of the Soviet Union, on June 17, 1898.

Mr. STRIPLING. Will you relate the general background information concerning Leon Josephson and state the circumstances surrounding his entry into the United States?

Mr. RUSSELL. Josephson came to the United States in the spring of 1900. He, at the time of his arrival in the United States, was accompanied by his mother, Bertha, and his brothers, David and Louis, as well as two sisters, Ethel and Lillian. Another brother, Barney, was born in the United States at Trenton, N. J., on February 1, 1901.

Mr. STRIPLING. According to your investigation, what was disclosed regarding the educational background of Leon Josephson?

Mr. RUSSELL. Leon Josephson is a graduate of the New York University law school. He graduated from that institution in June

1919. He is a member of the bar in the State of New Jersey and was admitted to the bar of that State during the year 1921.

Mr. STRIPLING. When and where did Mr. Josephson become an American citizen?

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Josephson became an American citizen in Newark, N. J., on April 25, 1921.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did your investigation disclose that Mr. Josephson was or has been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes. During the year 1926, Leon Josephson became a member of the Communist Party of the United States. He was what has been termed a member at large of the Communist Party of the United States.

Mr. RANKIN. A what?

Mr. RUSSELL. A member at large.

Mr. RANKIN. A member at large. How large? I mean, how much territory does it cover?

Mr. RUSSELL. He was not a member of any particular branch of the American Communist Party.

Mr. RANKIN. Then he might be considered as just a member of the commintern; a representative of the commintern?

Mr. RUSSELL. He could be, yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you determine whether or not Mr. Josephson had ever practiced law?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes. During the year 1926, Leon Josephson began the practice of law in Trenton, N. J. He continued in the practice of law until the year 1934. However, during the year 1932 he was an employee of the AMTORG trading corporation, an agency of Soviet Russia, the Soviet Russian Government.

Mr. STRIPLING. Just a moment, Mr. Russell. Is that the official trading agency of the Soviet Government?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes, sir. That is the official trading agency of the Soviet Government in the United States.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is it still in operation?

Mr. RUSSELL. It is still in operation.

Mr. NIXON. What year was that?

Mr. RUSSELL. That was 1932.

Mr. STRIPLING. With what other organizations, or organization, was Leon Josephson connected while he was engaged in the practice of law during the years you have mentioned?

Mr. RUSSELL. During the years 1929, 1930, and 1931, while Josephson was making trips to and from Europe, he was an attorney for the Communist front organization formerly known as the International Labor Defense which is now a part of the Civil Rights Congress.

Mr. STRIPLING. The International Labor Defense, Mr. Russell, are you familiar with that organization?

Mr. RUSSELL. Somewhat.

Mr. STRIPLING. Who is the president of the International Labor Defense—who was the president?

Mr. RUSSELL. Vito Marcantonio.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did it become the Civil Rights Congress?

Mr. RUSSELL. During the latter part of the year 1946 the International Labor Defense and the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties merged into the Civil Rights Congress.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you aware of who occupies the presidency at the present time of the Civil Rights Congress?

Mr. RUSSELL. No, I am not.

Mr. RANKIN. Is that a Communist front organization?

Mr. RUSSELL. Well, there was a merger of the two organizations, which have been cited as Communist fronts by the Attorney General of the United States, the International Labor Defense being what was termed the "legal arm" of the Communist party, and the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties being what was termed as a part of the "solar system of organizations," as described by Lenin.

Mr. STRIPLING. In your investigation, Mr. Russell, did you determine whether or not Mr. Josephson had ever made any trip to Europe?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes. During the year 1923 Leon Josephson went to Soviet Russia. He again went to Soviet Russia in 1930. In 1927 he went to Berlin, Germany. While he was in Berlin he was the victim of a robbery. During the robbery Josephson lost between \$500 and \$600. It has never been determined whether there were any political implications involved in that robbery.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did your investigation disclose that Leon Josephson, while connected with the International Labor Defense, was also associated with other important individuals?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes. While Leon Josephson was associated with the International Labor Defense he became acquainted with one Harry Kwiet. Harry Kwiet was interested in a case in Gastonia, N. C., which involved the murder of the chief of police in Gastonia.

Mr. STRIPLING. What year was that?

Mr. RUSSELL. 1929. Kwiet was later to play a part in the international false passport ring which was being operated for the benefit of the international Communist movement.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Russell, the committee, in a previous hearing on February 6, 1947, disclosed that Leon Josephson had been instrumental in the securing of a false passport for one Gerhart Eisler who used the name Samuel Liptzen to secure this passport. Will you describe for the committee the results of your investigation regarding Josephson's connection with the procurement of the passport by Gerhart Eisler under the name of Samuel Liptzen?

Mr. RUSSELL. Two days before the passport in question was obtained by Gerhart Eisler under the name of Samuel Liptzen, Leon Josephson and Harry Kwiet, whose name has been mentioned before as an acquaintance whom Leon Josephson met while active in the International Labor Defense, met and Kwiet requested Josephson to assist in the securing of a passport for an important member of the Communist espionage underground. Josephson agreed to help Kwiet obtain this passport and at this meeting it was agreed that Kwiet would meet Josephson the following morning in a cafeteria located near Thirty-second Street and Broadway, New York City.

On that morning, August 30, 1934, Leon Josephson, Harry Kwiet, and Gerhart Eisler met in the cafeteria and proceeded to the passport office of the State Department, which was then located on Broad Street, in New York City. In the passport office Josephson executed the passport application for Gerhart Eisler. This application was executed in the name of Samuel Liptzen. The name of the identifying witness, who was Harry Kwiet, was written on the application as

Bernard A. Hirschfield. This name was written by Leon Josephson. The name "Hirschfield" was taken from the last name of Leon Josephson's mother, whose maiden name was Bertha Hirschfield. The information contained in the passport application executed by Leon Josephson under the name of Samuel Liptzen was taken by Josephson from the naturalization papers of Samuel Liptzen. The name of Samuel Liptzen was written on the application by Gerhart Eisler in the presence of Leon Josephson.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, that is the passport which figured in the hearing on February the 6th, which Mr. Eisler used to go to Russia on two different occasions.

Mr. RANKIN. Who signed it?

Mr. STRIPLING. It was signed by Gerhart Eisler, we believe. Mr. Alwyn Cole, Chief Document Examiner for the Treasury Department, will testify this morning concerning the signature. What Mr. Russell has just testified to is that the name of the identifying witness which is carried on this passport application was Bernard A. Hirschfield, and sworn to, was in fact the handwriting of Leon Josephson. There is no Bernard A. Hirschfield. An inquiry was made at the address which was listed, which is 720 West End Avenue, New York City. It happened to be a hotel. No Hirschfield had ever been registered there, but at the time of the passport, there was a Leon Josephson registered at the hotel.

Mr. RANKIN. Did you find where these people lived, Mr. Russell; where this Josephson lived?

Mr. RUSSELL. As to Gerhard Eisler, we have never been able to determine his address. However, later we will attempt to establish the fact that he could have resided with Samuel Liptzen at the time this passport was executed. We cannot establish that definitely.

However, with reference to Harry Kwiet it might be stated that he is now dead and it cannot be determined how well he knew Gerhart Eisler. However, it is interesting to note that Harry Kwiet on March 19, 1936, attempted to obtain a false passport under the name of Edward Riggs. On March 24, 1936, when Kwiet called at the passport office in New York City to pick up the passport, he was arrested by agents of the State Department. Kwiet, at the time of his arrest, had a notebook in his possession which contained the name of Leon Josephson.

Mr. RANKIN. Did you find where Josephson lives now?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes. 161 West Sixteenth Street, New York City.

Mr. RANKIN. Was it a house?

Mr. RUSSELL. An apartment house.

Mr. RANKIN. Apartment house?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. RANKIN. Who lived with him, if anyone?

Mr. RUSSELL. His brother Barney and Leon Josephson's wife Lucy, so far as I know.

Mr. RANKIN. Anyone else?

Mr. RUSSELL. No, not as far as I know. I think Leon Josephson has a son, a small son who lives there.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did your investigation disclose that Barney Josephson, the brother of Leon Josephson, had also made trips to Europe?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes. On December 29, 1934, Barney Josephson—the brother of Leon—went to Europe, supposedly to Spain. The date of his sailing on December 29, 1934, preceded a voyage made by his brother Leon by 4 days on January 2, 1935. At the time of Barney Josephson's voyage to Europe he was unemployed and there was some question as to the manner in which he obtained the funds for this journey.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Russell, at that point: Are you familiar with the present activities of Barney Josephson?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes. Barney Josephson is one of the incorporators of the J. & J. Catering Co. and also an incorporator of Cafe Society, which operates Cafe Society Uptown and Cafe Society Downtown in New York City.

During the year 1946, Barney Josephson was a sponsor of the Spanish Refugee Appeal, which is a branch of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee.

Mr. STRIPLING. That is the same organization which paid regular funds to Mr. Gerhart Eisler while he was in the country in 1941?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Until he was arrested by the Department of Justice?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Let the record show that Mr. Wood is present.

Mr. STRIPLING. Let me ask you this question: On any of the trips that Leon Josephson made to Europe, was he accompanied by any other persons?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes. When he left the United States on January 21, 1935, he was accompanied by one George Mink.

Mr. STRIPLING. Can you identify for the committee who George Mink is?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes. George Mink was an enlisted agent of the Soviet Government who had been active in the maritime unions in the United States prior to his embarkation for Europe with Leon Josephson on January 2, 1935. These two individuals had been acquainted with each other since the year 1929.

Mr. RANKIN. Did you investigate or get a list of the occupants of this apartment house that Josephson lived in?

Mr. RUSSELL. No, we did not obtain that.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Russell, will you describe for the committee the type of work in which Josephson and Mink were engaged in after their arrival in Europe?

Before you answer that: I would like to state, Mr. Chairman, that numerous witnesses before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities and also before the Committee on Un-American Activities have testified as to the espionage activities of George Mink, and there will be considerable evidence placed in the record today concerning his activities.

Go ahead, Mr. Russell.

Mr. RUSSELL. From the date of the arrival of Josephson and Mink in Europe, which was on January 10, 1935, until March 8, 1935, they were associated in the Communist underground movement in Europe. They were principally active in Denmark. Associated with Mink and Josephson in the underground espionage network in Europe was one Nicholas Sherman—

The CHAIRMAN. How is it spelled?

Mr. RUSSELL. S-h-e-r-m-a-n. He is also sometimes referred to as Shireman, S-h-i-r-e-m-a-n.

Sherman has also been reported to the committee as a passport imposter. Sherman was introduced to Josephson by Mink upon the arrival of the latter two in Denmark. The underground network in which Mink, Josephson and Sherman operated was active in Paris, Brussels, Amsterdam, Copenhagen, Prague, Vienna, and Karlsbad. The expenses of this espionage network were paid by the Communist underground forces in Europe.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were Josephson, Mink, and Sherman ever arrested in connection with their activities in Europe?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes. On March 8, 1935, or about that date, perhaps it was March the 6th—there is a conflict in the dates which I have obtained, although I believe the actual date was March 6, 1935—on that date George Mink and Nichols Sherman were arrested by the Danish police in Copenhagen, along with several other persons, one of these persons being Leon Josephson. These persons were charged with having fake passports in their possession and with espionage.

The CHAIRMAN. May I ask right there who arrested them in Denmark?

Mr. RUSSELL. The Danish police.

Mr. STRIPLING. What were the circumstances which led up to the arrest?

Mr. RUSSELL. George Mink, because of the fact that he had become involved with a woman who reported him to the Danish authorities, was responsible for the breaking of the espionage network by the Danish authorities. After Mink had been reported by this woman the Danish police searched his hotel room and found a number of incriminating documents and included among the documents were several passports which obviously contained the photograph of George Mink.

Mr. STRIPLING. How many passports did Mr. Mink have on him?

Mr. RUSSELL. He is reported to have had four. Two of these have played a part in the investigation conducted by me.

Mr. STRIPLING. At this point, Mr. Chairman, I would like to make a part of the record certain documents which have been obtained from the files of the State Department. They are official dispatches and documents obtained from the Consulate General at Copenhagen, and also from the files of the Passport Division.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the name of the Consulate General in Copenhagen?

Mr. STRIPLING. I will read that into the record, if I may.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you going to read the document now?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. STRIPLING. It is signed by Mr. Maynard.

The CHAIRMAN. This is, as I understand it a document taken from the files of the State Department and signed by Mr. Maynard who was the consulate general in Copenhagen.

Mr. STRIPLING. That is true. I am not going to read that document at this time. I am going to read other material from the files first. [Reading:]

Leon Josephson, a naturalized citizen, was arrested in Denmark in February 1935, charged with espionage. About the same time two of his associates, George

Mink and a man who had an American passport in the name of Nicholas Sherman, were also arrested. Four American passports were found in Mink's possession, one in his own name, one in the name of Al Gottlieb, which bore Mink's photograph, and the others in the name of Abraham Wexler and Harry Herman Kaplan. In addition to the American passport, Sherman also had a Canadian passport in the name of Abraham Goldman and a German passport in the name of Willy Carl Herman Breitschneider.

When first questioned, the persons arrested intimated that they were members of a Jewish organization planning the assassination of Hitler, that Josephson was the head of the organization in Europe, that Mink had been acting as treasurer, and that Sherman was to attempt the actual assassination. Subsequent investigation did not verify this claim but established that the organization was part of an extensive espionage system on behalf of a foreign government. It was ascertained that one of the persons arrested had in his possession detailed plans for the installation and operation of a secret radio station in Denmark. Another had in his possession detailed information regarding German naval plans. It was also found that the three men had contacts in practically all countries in Europe, as well as the United States, and that they were directing the operation of a courier system which carried messages in secret code between Copenhagen, Antwerp, the British Isles, and New York.

The three were brought to trial on May 11, 1935, after they had been in prison for four months. Josephson was acquitted and the other two men convicted. Josephson was permitted to return to the United States. Mink and Sherman were each sentenced to 18 months imprisonment and subsequently deported from Denmark. They were released in the early summer of 1936 before serving the full term and traveled to the Soviet Union with travel documents supplied by the Soviet authorities in Sweden.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I should like to read into the record a dispatch from Lester Maynard, American Consul General at Copenhagen, Denmark, dated May 16, 1935. [Reading:]

Subject: Arrest of American citizens charged with espionage.

The honorable the SECRETARY OF STATE,
Washington.

Sir:

I am not going to read the document in its entirety, Mr. Chairman, because there is certain information in there which the State Department has asked us not to make public. In deference to their request I shall not, and I assume it is agreeable with the chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. That will be all right.

Mr. STRIPLING. This is the dispatch of Mr. Maynard [reading:]

Shortly before the trial I had a further interview with Josephson and he spoke rather frankly of his communistic activities and his association with the other men under arrest.

He came to the Consulate General on Tuesday, May 14th, having been released from prison on Monday, and then enlarged considerably on the information which he had previously given. He stated that as long as he had been acquainted he did not mind telling me about his association with the communist party in the United States and his activities abroad. He stated that to him communism is more than a political theory or belief and is a religion. He stated that he is an atheist and a member of the active Communist Party in America and in its inner circles.

He admitted long association with the man known as Sherman and stated that one of the many mistakes he had made was to directly secure letters for Sherman from American concerns so that Sherman might appear to be a commercial representative and thus more freely move about Europe. * * * He believes that Sherman entered over the Canadian border, without papers, but he had no definite knowledge on the subject. When discussing Mink he stated that Mink's activities in the seamen's union had brought him into bad repute and that it was only after he had lost his influence there that he joined the communist organization and was sent by them to Copenhagen to act as the center for their courier service. This was explained in detail in a previous dispatch. He bitterly reproached Mink for carelessness and stupidity and predicted that if Mink should return to the United States he would pay heavily to the Com-

munists Party for his indiscretions. He enumerated the latter and stressed the folly of Mink in securing four passports, two with his own photographs, and pointed out that this might mean five years in the penitentiary if Mink goes to the United States. He added that Sherman's activities were of such a nature as to terminate his usefulness to the Communist Party in any country but Russia and that Sherman would attempt to go there, but even in regard to Russia he expressed some doubt, as he stated, that the Russian Government did not like to receive a communist who had been in the hands of the police charged with espionage.

He then explained to me his personal views in regard to the communist movement, the pertinent part of which was that he considered the orders of his committee superior to the laws of the United States and that he would do anything "short of murder" to carry out the committee's orders. * * * It may be of interest to the New York police to know that on his first visit to Copenhagen, Mink was accompanied by a woman named Sarah Kaufmann. She returned to the United States with Mink and did not accompany him on his second visit, when he was arrested. This woman accompanied Mink from Copenhagen to Germany and back again when he was first here. * * *

Respectfully yours,

LESTER MAYNARD,
American Consul General.

Mr. NIXON. Will you read the section again "he considered the orders of his committee superior——"

Mr. STRIPLING (reading):

He then explained to me his personal views in regard to the communist movement, the pertinent part of which was that he considered the orders of his committee superior to the laws of the United States and that he would do anything "short of murder" to carry out the committee's orders.

Mr. NIXON. That committee is what?

Mr. STRIPLING. The Central Committee of the Communist Party.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman——

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Rankin.

Mr. RANKIN. I wish to call the committee's attention at this time to the fact that the Communists are raising money to attack this committee. I have before me a copy of the Hollywood Citizen showing that Dr. Harlow Shapley addressed a Communist meeting in California and attacked this committee as "the most un-American institution in America."

The CHAIRMAN. What has that to do with this hearing today?

Mr. RANKIN. As I remember this Dr. Harlow Shapley not only treated this committee with contempt, but committed perjury. I should like to announce that I am going to demand that be taken up and referred to the Department of Justice.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, in order that the record will be clear concerning the identity of George Mink, I am going to ask Investigator Russell to read into the record the testimony by various witnesses before this committee concerning George Mink.

Mr. RUSSELL. The first extract is from the testimony of John P. Frey, who was president of the metal trades department of the A. F. of L. This testimony was given on August 13, 1938, and appears in volume I, page 103 of the volumes of testimony taken before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities. On that date Mr. Frey testified [reading]:

* * * Communist Party leader Mink served two years' sentence in Sweden as a communist spy and is now reported to be in Mexico trying to figure a plan whereby they can assassinate Leon Trotsky.

The testimony of Sam Baron, who was a correspondent for the Socialist Call, which was given on November 22, 1938, before the committee mentioned, is to the effect that one—

Liston Oak said, "I met George Mink, American communist, who boasted about his work in organizing the Spanish GPU and offered me a job to put the finger on untrustworthy volunteers entering Spain to fight against Fascism, such as the members of the British Independent Labor Party and the American Socialist Party."

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, there are four pages of these excerpts. May the material be inserted in the record?

The CHAIRMAN. If it meets with the approval of the committee, I would suggest that it be put in the record at this point.

(The excerpts from testimony referred to above are as follows:)

TESTIMONY OF EARL BROWDER, FORMER HEAD OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES, SEPTEMBER 5, 1939

(Vol. VII, p. 4371f)

Browder testified that, "I knew of him only when he was active in the organization of the Waterfront Workers' Clubs in New York, 1929. At that time he was a member of the Communist Party."

TESTIMONY OF BENJAMIN GITLOW, FORMER OFFICIAL OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES, SEPTEMBER 7, 1939

(Vol. VII, p. 4591)

George Mink visited on official business for the Comintern, practically every country of the world. He and Browder were leaders in the same party faction and they continuously palled together, and Mink was an agent of the Profintern. Mink claims to be a relative of Losovsky, formerly head of the Red International Labor Union, and who is today assistant commissar of foreign affairs, first assistant to Molotov.

(P. 4676)

George Mink was operating as an Ogpu agent.

TESTIMONY OF MAURICE L. MALKIN, FORMER MEMBER OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES, OCTOBER 13, 1939

(Vol. IX, p. 5771f)

"The National Maritime Union is an outgrowth of the Marine Workers Industrial Union, a Communist-controlled organization, formerly controlled by George Mink."

(P. 5777f)

Mink was with the Ogpu in the American section in Spain during the Loyalist defense. Former national organizer of the Maritime Workers Industrial Union. Brother-in-law of Logodsky, one of the big chiefs in the Soviet Government now. "I think he is assistant premier. He was chief of the Ogpu American section in Spain. He was also sent to Mexico to shoot Trotsky. He went to Mexico, but a Mexican Trotskyite recognized him and he vanished. I do not know what happened."

TESTIMONY OF ROBERT PITCOFF, FORMER MEMBER OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES, OCTOBER 14, 1939

(Vol. IC, p. 5807)

"Who started the National Maritime Union; who were the individuals more active in the early days of that organization?"

"Well, it was started as the Maritime Workers, an industrial union, by Roy Hudson and George Mink."

TESTIMONY OF W. C. MCGUISTION, SEAMAN, FORMER MEMBER OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES, OCTOBER 30, 1939

(Vol. XI, p. 6544)

"Mink bragged about the fact that he was the direct representative of the Soviet Government in the United States. * * * He was the national chairman of the Marine Workers Industrial Union in the United States."

(Pp. 6548 to 6552)

"I first became acquainted with Mink at the convention of the Marine Workers League in New York in April 1939. * * * Mink made at least one trip a year to the Soviet Union * * *."

(P. 6564)

National Chairman of the M. W. I. U., judge of the trial committee at a public open trial of the Seamens Church Institute.

(P. 6573)

Mink went to the Red International Congress in Moscow. He was in charge of the maritime work for the Soviet Government in North, South, and Central America.

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM NOWELL, FORMER MEMBER OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES, NOVEMBER 30, 1939

(Vol. XI, p. 7015)

Mink, former member of the national committee of the T. U. U. L., an old Communist, and active in trade-union circles.

TESTIMONY OF JAY LOVESTONE, FORMER MEMBER OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES, DEC. 2, 1939

(Vol. XI, p. 7174)

"Mink at first had no functions, because he was incompetent to have any functions. Then all of a sudden he was made an active leader of the Marine Workers and then he went to Russia and came back, as an authority on trade-union questions * * * and afterward he cut loose from the trade-union work and began to handle some confidential work, the nature of which we did not know, and we did not ask anything about it."

"Did you have any reason to believe that he might have been connected with the G. P. U.?"

"Good reasons to believe that, again, I could not prove it in a court of law."
(Alias Hertz, p. 6549.)

MR. STRIPLING. I will resume the questioning of Mr. Russell.

MR. RUSSELL, will you describe for the committee the result of your investigation regarding the manner in which the Gottlieb and Kaplan passports were obtained?

MR. RUSSELL. Yes. At the time of the arrest of Mink in Copenhagen he had several fraudulent American passports. One of these was made out in the name of Al Gottlieb which contained a photograph of George Mink, the known Soviet agent. This passport was obtained as the result of a fraudulent application executed by Leon Josephson prior to the time he and Mink sailed for Europe. Mink also had in his possession an American passport made out in the name of Harry Hyman Kaplan. This passport bore the number 156773 and was obtained by Kaplan on December 3, 1934. That is, that passport was actually obtained by Harry Hyman Kaplan.

Kaplan, at the time he obtained the passport, was the proprietor of a hotel in Trenton, N. J., called the American House. Kaplan obtained this passport ostensibly for the purpose of going to Europe on business. However, the passport later disappeared and Kaplan's first statement regarding the loss of the passport and how it found its way into the hands of George Mink was to the effect that an employee of the hotel had stolen it. However, in 1938, when Kaplan applied for another passport, he said that the passport found in Mink's possession bearing his name had been stolen, although he couldn't prove it, by Barney Josephson, the brother of Leon Josephson, who had formerly worked for him at the American House.

The CHAIRMAN. Is Kaplan here in the United States now?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes; I think he can't be located. We couldn't locate him in the time available. However, he has been interviewed by other agencies of the Government.

Mr. McDOWELL. The man accused of stealing that is the owner of Cafe Society?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes; one of the incorporators. We will say a part owner.

Mr. STRIPLING. In that connection, does Leon Josephson have any interest in the Cafe Society Uptown and the Cafe Society Downtown?

Mr. RUSSELL. His wife Lucy is the coholder of the liquor license of Cafe Society Uptown.

Mr. RANKIN. Isn't it the usual cry of the Communist when you catch him with records to accuse the representatives of the committee of stealing those records?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes, sir; that has been charged.

Mr. STRIPLING. After Josephson's release, do you know how long he remained in Europe?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes. He remained in Copenhagen, Denmark, for about 3 weeks after he was released from jail, and he subsequently returned to the United States.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know whether he was entertained or received at the United States Embassy there?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes. He was entertained by the Ambassador to Denmark, who at that time was a woman, Ruth Bryan Owen, now Rodhe.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was it that was entertained there?

Mr. STRIPLING. Leon Josephson, after his release from prison.

Mr. McDOWELL. Entertained as a guest of honor?

Mr. RUSSELL. It was reported to me that Josephson claims that he was rather royally entertained by the Ambassador in Denmark and that since her return to the United States he has become a close friend of hers. We have not, however, talked to the former Ambassador to Denmark, but that information was reported during the course of my investigation.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, there is no question concerning Mr. Josephson's Communist affiliations. When he appeared before the subcommittee in New York he released two statements and I would ask that the chairman of the subcommittee include in the record an excerpt from one of those statements.

I believe he made a statement to the effect, "I am a Communist."

Mr. NIXON. I quote from Mr. Josephson's statement which is filed with the subcommittee:

I am a Communist. Like all Communists and like most Americans, I am also anti-Fascist.

The CHAIRMAN. What are you reading from?

Mr. NIXON. From Leon Josephson's statement submitted to the subcommittee; a reprint of the statement in the Daily Worker of March 6.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, I would like Mr. Russell to read from the Communist an excerpt from an article which Josephson wrote in that publication, which is the official theoretical organ of the Communist Party of the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

Mr. RUSSELL. This article was entitled "The New Soviet Electoral Law," and it appeared in the Communist for the month of October 1937. The article states [reading]:

The new Soviet constitution and electoral law are the most democratic in the world. A simple comparison of the new Soviet constitution and the electoral law with the American Constitution and the American electoral system, or with the constitutions and electoral laws of any other country, conclusively proves the correctness of this statement.

Another passage from the article is that [reading]:

The new Soviet constitution, the triumph of the Soviet people, bears the name, the Stalinist Constitution, as a tribute and attestation that the epic achievements which made possible this Socialist Magna Carta have been accomplished through the guidance of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, armed with the Marxist-Leninist theory and devotion exemplified and embodied in the great leader of all oppressed humanity, Comrade Stalin.

That Leon Josephson actually believes in the substitution of the Soviet Constitution for the Constitution of the United States is clearly set forth in the closing paragraph of his article which is as follows [reading]:

On this occasion of the celebration of 20 years of Soviet power, the magnificent constitution of the U. S. S. R. lights up for the American working masses the road that they, too, under the leadership of the Communist Party, must follow to defeat and end for all time crises, unemployment, reaction, and war—the road to Soviet America and its Socialist constitution.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, the reason we have gone to the lengths we have here in showing the views of Mr. Josephson, particularly from such a high authority as the Communist, which is the publication of the Communist Party, is to show the line which has been adopted by the Communist Party at the present time with reference to disclosing any information concerning their activity. Mr. Josephson has defied the subcommittee, Mr. Eisler defied the committee, and I presume that all officials of the Communist Party pursuing this line will also defy any agency of the Government.

Mr. RANKIN. Everyone who knows anything about their record knows that they are dedicated to the overthrow of this Government. They have been making war on the United States from the beginning. I see in the New York Times of last night that they held a Communist meeting in New York and Mr. Marcantonio addressed them, denouncing this committee, and they took up a collection to raise money for the defense of Eisler, and the donations ranged from small sums up to \$500. So that this drive is continuing all the time to undermine and destroy the Government of the United States.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Eisler and Mr. Josephson, Mr. Congressman, are in the higher echelons of the Communist International, international communism they are two very important figures.

Mr. RANKIN. I understand. It is an international movement. But the outstanding country they are now dedicated to destroy is the United States of America.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Russell, during the course of your investigation, did you make an inquiry at the Cafe Society Uptown?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes. Although Leon Josephson conveys the impression that today he is inactive in both business and Communist activities because of his health, an inquiry made at Cafe Society Uptown revealed that he is supposedly engaged in what was described as the building business. In this connection it was stated that Leon Josephson is commuting between Dayton, Ohio, and New York City. It is also interesting to note that when the subpoena was served upon Leon Josephson on February 4, 1946, he went to the Communist Party headquarters in New York City apparently to confer with Communist Party officials regarding the action he should take in connection with the subpoena. It is not known what officials he consulted with, nor is it known what instructions he received. However, in any event, he did not comply with the subpoena which was served upon him.

However, in connection with the statement made that he was in the building business, we have, through subpoena, obtained the records of some toll calls which Mr. Josephson made to various points.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Russell, those are long-distance telephone calls?

Mr. RUSSELL. That is right. Mr. Josephson has called upon numerous occasions during the year 1946 and during this year 1947 what is listed as the Housing Development Corp. in the Cooper Building in Dayton, Ohio. The number of these calls would indicate that he has called some agency which is engaged in the building business. We haven't had time to investigate the organization, however.

The other calls which he has made have been two numbers in Washington, D. C. One of these is the number of an individual named Sol Rabkin.

The CHAIRMAN. These are Leon Josephson's calls?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. From where?

Mr. RUSSELL. From New York City and from an unlisted telephone number.

Sol Rabkin has been a member of four Communist front organizations. He has been an employee of the United States Government since 1935. In that connection, he has worked for the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the National Labor Relations Board, the United States Department of Justice, and the last record of employment we have is with the OPA.

Mr. McDOWELL. In what capacity?

Mr. RUSSELL. He is an attorney. He was in the Price Department and Legal Division of OPA.

Mr. WOOD. Is he in the employment of the Government now?

Mr. RUSSELL. As far as I know. We obtained that information this morning. We haven't had time to go into his record of later employment.

Mr. NIXON. Do you know his rating?

Mr. RUSSELL. He started out as a statistical clerk—at about \$1,440, probably. I know that he made in the neighborhood of \$5,600 in one of the jobs and I would assume that he has not taken any less.

Mr. NIXON. \$5,600 base?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. Making about \$8,500 gross?

Mr. RUSSELL. Probably so.

Mr. NIXON. I see.

Mr. McDOWELL. What is this man's first name?

Mr. RUSSELL. Sol, S-o-l. Sol Rabkin.

Mr. RANKIN. Didn't he finally graduate to the FEPC?

Mr. RUSSELL. No. He went to the Farm Credit Administration.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, may we place in the record at this point his Communist affiliations?

The CHAIRMAN. So ordered.

(The material above referred to is as follows:)

Communist front associations of Sol Rankin

| Organization | Affiliation | Source |
|---|--|---|
| American League for Peace and Democracy. | Member, Washington branch..... | Membership list in committee files; public hearings, p. 6413. Committee file. |
| National Lawyers Guild..... | Member (812 17th St. NW., Washington, D. C.) | |
| Washington Book Shop..... | do..... | Do. |
| Washington Committee for Democratic Action. | do..... | Do. |

Mr. STRIPLING. Does the investigation show that other phone calls were made by Mr. Josephson to individuals in Washington?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes. Another person whom he called was Milton Fischer. Mr. Fischer has been a member of two Communist fronts. The only record that we obtained on Milton Fischer was to the effect that a Milton Fischer resigned from the National Housing Authority on August 30, 1946, to enter private industry.

Mr. NIXON. Before you leave this Housing Development Corp. in Dayton, Ohio—you made no investigation on that group whatever?

Mr. RUSSELL. No. We endeavored to. When we first learned that he was in the building business we did some investigating, but we couldn't find out anything about it. We had an investigation made at Dayton, Ohio, which was not productive.

Mr. NIXON. Is it your intention to investigate that organization?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. I would suggest that in doing so the committee would be interested in knowing what contracts for public housing that organization has or whether the Government is negotiating with that organization for public housing contracts.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, we would like the record to show that when Mr. Josephson was first subpoenaed on February 4, in New York, on that same day Mr. Martin Popper, an attorney in Washington,

D. C., called me and said that he was representing Leon Josephson and that Mr. Josephson was a businessman and was too busy to appear before the committee with such short notice, and that his client would require at least 1 week's notice and asked me to take it up with the chairman. You recall that I did so, Mr. Chairman, and you told me to advise Mr. Popper that 3 days was sufficient time for his client to come from New York to Washington.

The CHAIRMAN. That is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Popper, I would like to state to the committee, is now and has been for some time the executive secretary of the National Lawyers Guild, an organization which this committee has found to be a Communist-front organization, and from which, in 1939, after their convention of that year, some very prominent Government officials resigned because of the Communist influence in and domination of the Lawyers Guild. Those persons were Mr. Adolph F. Berle, Judge Ferdinand Pecora, and Mr. Robert H. Jackson. Then after the Eisler hearing, in which the activities of Mr. Josephson were brought out, I called Mr. Popper and asked him if he could produce Mr. Josephson, and he advised me that he didn't represent Mr. Josephson; that he had made those calls at the insistence of a friend in New York. Mr. Popper has also been president of the National Lawyers Guild, but as I said he is now its executive secretary.

Mr. RANKIN. Right there, you say that Judge Pecora, Mr. Berle, formerly Assistant Secretary of State, and also Mr. Justice Jackson of the Supreme Court, all resigned from the Lawyers Guild on the ground that it was communistic?

Mr. STRIPLING. That is right, sir.

Mr. RANKIN. And they also stated, as I understood from your statement, that?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have other calls?

Mr. RUSSELL. We have other calls that we are checking on, Mr. Chairman, at other points throughout the United States.

Mr. RANKIN. I also call attention to the fact that since the Lawyers Guild has been branded by these leading Americans as a Communist organization, that the chairman that presided over a Communist meeting in California the other night, "Dr." Shapley, denounced this committee as "the most un-American outfit in the country"; so it just shows that it is not only a past performance but it is a continuous drive to undermine and destroy this Government. I can think of no greater condemnation of any outfit than for those three men you just mentioned—Judge Jackson, Judge Pecora, and Mr. Berle—all of whom have been known as rather liberal, to resign from it and give as their reason that it was a Communist front organization.

Mr. STRIPLING. Now, Mr. Chairman, that completes Mr. Russell's testimony regarding Leon Josephson. However, we have been investigating Samuel Liptzen. We haven't completed the investigation. I would like to ask Mr. Russell to give the committee an account of the information he has obtained to date on Samuel Liptzen.

Mr. RUSSELL. When Mr. Liptzen was examined in New York City on March 5, 1947, he failed to tell the committee that he had been in Mexico City during the year 1946. Also, he consistently denied that he knew Leon Josephson. It has also been determined that Samuel Liptzen did not report the loss of his naturalization papers until

nearly 2 years had elapsed. He steadfastly maintained that his naturalization papers were stolen during a robbery of his residence. Yet, it has been determined that, in order for a robber to have entered Samuel Liptzen's room and committed a robbery, he would have had to cross every room in an apartment occupied by three other persons, besides Liptzen. The robber would have had to go through three rooms and a kitchen in order to reach Liptzen's room. Truly, this was a remarkable robbery, if it occurred.

Mr. Chairman, it has also been determined that Mrs. Holland, the person whom Mr. Liptzen claimed as being very dear to him—

The CHAIRMAN. How is that name spelled?

Mr. RUSSELL. H-o-l-l-a-n-d—Mr. Liptzen used "H-a-l-l-a-n-d", but the true spelling is "H-o-l-l-a-n-d"—and who, because of illness in Boston, Mass., prevented Samuel Liptzen's compliance with the first subpoena served upon him, has a sister and brother-in-law living in Boston who most certainly could have furnished Mrs. Holland with any immediate assistance required while she was hospitalized. Mrs. Holland's son Saul was also in Boston at the time of the operation.

Mr. Chairman, we have also examined the original telegram sent by Mr. Liptzen when he requested postponement of his appearance before the committee, and it does not appear that it was typed by an experienced typist as claimed by Mr. Liptzen.

Also, Mr. Chairman, Mr. Liptzen has claimed that he has been ill for some years including the past several years. Yet the examination and investigation of Mr. Liptzen has developed that he has been able to travel to Canada in 1945, and to Houston and San Antonio, Tex., as well as Mexico City, Mexico, during the year 1946.

With reference to Mr. Liptzen's denial that he knows Leon Josephson, I would like to read the translation of an article, with certain deletions, from the Jewish Daily Forward of March 8, 1947, which states that Samuel Liptzen and Leon Josephson are friends.

Mr. RANKIN. You said the robber would have had to go through apartments to reach his room?

Mr. RUSSELL. No; three rooms.

Mr. RANKIN. Who occupied those rooms?

Mr. RUSSELL. Mrs. Holland and her son and an unknown roomer whom we cannot identify. This alleged robbery according to Liptzen occurred in 1933, but he also has said it occurred in 1934, so we actually don't know—but the unknown roomer was in one of the rooms and Liptzen had another, so altogether there were four people in that apartment at the time of the robbery.

Mr. STRIPLING. In that connection, Mr. Chairman, I should like to state that in order to obtain the passport which Gerhart Eisler used to travel back and forth he had to have Liptzen's naturalization papers. I should like for the committee to bear in mind that Samuel Liptzen is one of the original members of the Communist Party of the United States and has been a faithful member since 1920. He has his office at Communist Party headquarters. And, as the chairman of the subcommittee and as the other members of the committee can verify, Mr. Liptzen was not in the least disturbed over the fact that his naturalization papers and his name had been used in the fraudulent passport.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Stripling, is this the man who used such poor English that there was difficulty in gathering it by the stenographer?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes; he had difficulty hearing, too, at certain times, Mr. Congressman.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Chairman, I was speaking of the translation of that article from the Jewish Daily Forward. Do you desire that it be inserted in the record rather than to be read at this time?

The CHAIRMAN. It may be inserted.

(The translation referred to above is as follows:)

THE COMMUNIST SAM LIPTZEN

At a hearing of the House Un-American Activities Committee the name of Sam Liptzen was mentioned.

The German communist, Gerhardt Eisler, was detained at the request of the Congressional Committee, on the suspicion that he was sent to America to head the Communist Party here. Besides, there are more weighty charges against him, such as perjury, use of a false passport, etc.

Sam Liptzen was called before the Congressional Committee for the first time some weeks ago. At that time he did not appear, pleading illness as an excuse. A few days ago the Committee came to New York and again summoned Sam Liptzen. This time he went.

The committee questioned him about a false passport, forged for Gerhardt Eisler some 10 years ago. The application for the passport was signed with Sam Liptzen's name. It appears that the passport was issued on the basis of Liptzen's citizenship papers, but with a photograph of Eisler, and Eisler actually made use of the passport.

The Congressional Committee asked Liptzen what he had to say about that. His excuse was that he had lost his citizenship papers a long time before. He apparently tried to give the impression that somebody had been using his citizenship papers without his knowledge. But Liptzen's name was signed to the application for a passport; the application was filled out in the handwriting of Leon Josephson, who is one of Liptzen's good friends and a prominent communist. And the passport was used by Gerhardt Eisler, who is also Liptzen's communist comrade.

The aim of the inquiry is to prove that the communists of the United States, just as those of Canada, are conducting espionage activities on behalf of the Russian Government.

However, I shall not touch on this question here. I only want to acquaint the reader with one of the communistic "heroes," who are now being examined by the Congressional Committee, namely the communist Sam Liptzen.

Sam Liptzen is a tailor by profession. When he came to America he joined a tailor's union. When the Amalgamated was organized he became active in local 156 of the pocket makers. He was known in the union as a trouble maker. He was always aiming for something, but never seemed able to achieve it. He dreamed of becoming a paid union official, but because he had no particular talents he didn't succeed, and his thwarted ambition turned into professional opposition.

When the first underground communist movement was organized on the lower East Side by former socialists, it was natural for Sam Liptzen to become active in it. His policy of opposition found new strength and support, and an opportunity to develop with the help of communist ideology. When Local 156 merged with Local 5, and later became Local 25, the communist group in the Amalgamated managed to secure control over it, and thus the largest Jewish union came under communist domination. It became possible for Liptzen, through Local 25, to conduct a campaign against all of the Amalgamated. This he did very vigorously. In 1925 Sam Liptzen led a public demonstration against the national headquarters of the Amalgamated. Women and children of the communists took part in that demonstration. Their cry was that the workers received starvation wages, that their women and children were dying of hunger, and that Sidney Hillman (and his machine) should resign, and hand over the organization to the communists. That "historic" demonstration was conducted by the sadly famous Trade Union Educational League, of which Foster was then chairman, and which at the time split and greatly injured the Jewish trade-union movement.

After the demonstration the elements of the right within Local 25 revolved against the communist functionaries. They brought charges against Liptzen and his administration before the General Executive Board. That led to a complete reorganization of Local 25 by the General Executive Board, with Sidney Hillman, who threw out all the communist functionaries, and brought Sam

Liptzen to trial for attempting to break the union, and for maliciously slandering its leaders. Liptzen was found guilty. He was excluded from the union, and then spent a short period of time working as a furrier. The communistic furriers union saw to it that he was working. But he never was too keen about working in a shop, and Ben Gold apparently was not able to give him a good job in the union. He finally left the shop and the union, and was employed by the party, which sent him across the country to attack the Jewish labor organizations and their leaders, and to find subscribers for the communist paper, the "Freiheit."

The "Freiheit" occasionally printed letters from Liptzen, under the heading, "from man to man." Each letter had some mud to throw on some branch of the labor movement which was not communist. He graduated from the letters to the writing of humorous essays on the same subject.

Not long ago these humorous pieces were translated into English and published in a book. The "New Masses," the party magazine, reviewed the book, and stated flatly that Liptzen was a second Shalom Aleichum. As may have been expected, that produced a big laugh. Those who had read the pieces, or who knew Liptzen personally, laughed hardest. But it is possible that the general reader, reading that the second Shalom Aleichum is a communist, must necessarily have come to the conclusion that the first Shalom Aleichum, too, must have been a communist. That is how the Jewish writing profession is misrepresented before the general public.

Sam Liptzen is still working for the "Freiheit." Nobody seems to know exactly what he is supposed to be doing. His articles are hardly ever published in the "Freiheit," in spite of the fact that the "New Masses" referred to him as the second Shalom Aleichum. We said before that his character and his abilities, either as a writer or as an organizer, never sufficed to raise him to a post of importance in the communist party. He has remained the docile communist slave and errand boy. And that is probably why he obeys orders and gets involved in all of the unsavory messes of the communist party.

I know Sam Liptzen, and I can just see how happy he must be, how he must be basking in the sudden glory of nation-wide notice. He is probably very proud, because his ambitions have at last been fulfilled. He has become a hero in a case which for some time to come will be before the public of America, and perhaps even of the world.

Mr. RUSSELL. One further observation which can be made at this time is that when the alleged robbery of Samuel Liptzen occurred there was a roomer residing in the Liptzen apartment who cannot be identified. However, it is possible that this person was Gerhart Eisler. Obviously when the Eisler application for a passport under the name of Samuel Liptzen was executed the person executing the application had to know whether Liptzen had ever applied for a passport since this was one of the questions asked on the application form. This information could only be obtained from Liptzen himself.

It is also interesting to note that Gerhart Eisler used the name Hans Berger while in this country. Samuel Liptzen's mother's maiden name was Berger. This is another point which might indicate that Liptzen knew Gerhart Eisler, and who and what he was. It could be coincidence, but, if you will recall, Leon Josephson used the name of Hirschfield, his mother's maiden name, as the identifying witness on the passport.

Mr. RANKIN. In that connection, if we were to make the mistake they made in the State of New York and passed this FEPC Act you couldn't ask one of these men what their name was or how many names they ever had or what party they belonged to.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us proceed. We have got a long way to go.

Mr. RANKIN. I want the record to show that it would seal the mouths of the law-enforcing elements of this country.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed. We have three more witnesses.

Mr. STRIPLING. I would like to introduce one more document at this point.

Mr. RUSSELL. This document is a photostatic copy of a notebook which was found in a garage in New York City where certain files belonging to William Weiner were hidden.

Mr. STRIPLING. Will you identify William Weiner?

Mr. RUSSELL. William Weiner was indicted for using a false passport at about the same time as Earl Browder. Weiner has been the financial secretary of the Communist Party. He was the person supposedly known as Blake who handled the Communist Party accounts with the World Tourist, which was the travel agency that secured the accommodations for Gerhart Eisler when he had traveled under the name of Samuel Liptzen.

This notebook was subpoenaed before the Grand Jury.

Mr. STRIPLING. Let me interrupt you for a moment.

Mr. Chairman, these records were subpoenaed, as Mr. Russell has stated, by the grand jury. This appears to be a memorandum or an address book of William Weiner. I will give it to the committee to examine, but in it are the telephone numbers of all of the Communist officials, high officials, in New York, as well as certain Communist-front organizations.

Mr. RANKIN. Are you going to put that in the record?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes.

Mr. WOOD. Is the Spanish Refugee Committee listed there?

Mr. STRIPLING. No. The Spanish Refugee Committee wasn't in existence at that time. It was known under some other name.

Mr. Russell, will you go ahead and explain the notations under the heading of "S. Liptzen"?

Mr. RUSSELL. The name of "S. Liptzen" gives an address Main 1, Post Restante, a French word. I understand that that is the same address which was contained in a letter of introduction given to Gerhart Eisler under the name of Sam Liptzen at the time he traveled to Germany on a false passport.

Mr. STRIPLING. The letter, Mr. Chairman, was to Paris, was to the World Tourist Organization at Paris, directing the manager of the World Tourist to furnish Eisler, who was traveling under the name of Liptzen, a visa to go to the Soviet Union, arranging for him to go to the Soviet Union.

We wanted the record to show that Mr. Weiner's notebook contained the name "S. Liptzen," and under it the address where he obtained transportation and, apparently, a visa, to go to Leningrad.

If there are no questions from the committee, that is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any questions of Mr. Russell?

(No response.)

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Russell.

Mr. STRIPLING. The next witness will be Mr. Alwyn Cole.

TESTIMONY OF ALWYN COLE

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Cole, will you please state your name for the record?

Mr. COLE. Alwyn Cole.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is your occupation, Mr. Cole?

Mr. COLE. I am examiner of questioned documents for the United States Treasury Department. That occupation involves the exami-

nation of documents in which the Government is interested when there is a question about the genuineness of them, or the identity of any of the parts. It includes examination of handwritings for the purpose of identification.

Mr. STRIPLING. And for how many years have you been an examiner of questioned documents?

Mr. COLE. I have been engaged in this work for the past 17 years. I have held the position examiner of questioned documents for the past 11 years.

Mr. STRIPLING. In the Treasury Department?

Mr. COLE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Cole, do you recall that on January 31, 1947, this committee by letter to the Treasury Department of the United States requested your assistance in examining certain documents relating to certain passport matters involving an application for a passport executed under the name of Samuel Liptzen?

Mr. COLE. I do.

Mr. STRIPLING. In response to the letter from the committee on January 31, 1947, the Treasury Department of the United States on February 5, 1947, dispatched a letter to the committee which contained your report regarding the passport application executed under the name Samuel Liptzen. Mr. Cole, I now show you the report which I have just mentioned, and ask if it is your report of the handwriting examination conducted by you concerning the Samuel Liptzen application. Is this the report, Mr. Cole?

Mr. COLE. Yes, sir, this is the report.

Mr. STRIPLING. Will you read that report to the committee?

Mr. COLE (reading):

FEBRUARY 4, 1947.

To the Treasurer of the United States:

There has been submitted to me for examination a photocopy of a passport application in the name of Samuel Liptzen, bearing the number 144,959 and stamped "Passport Issued August 31, 1934 Department of State." The application is dated August 30, 1934, and the affidavit of the identifying witness was signed by "Bernard A. Hirschfeld, 720 West End Av N. Y. C., N. Y." The face is a negative photocopy and the back is a positive photocopy.

An opinion was requested concerning the authorship of the signature "Samuel Liptzen" on the reverse of the passport application described above and concerning the handwriting of the body of the document including the alleged signature of the identifying witness. In this connection the following documents were submitted as standards:

A. A photocopy of an application to extend time of temporary stay, Form 1539, signed by Gerhart Eisler (Alien No. 7593978), and filled out by the same person.

B. Photocopies of various documents signed by Gerhart Eisler but not filled out by the signer.

C. Photocopies of three passport applications made in the name of Leon Josephson, bearing numbers and issue dates as follows: No. 158,380, December 13, 1934; No. 161,955, February 7, 1930; No. 421,493, June 17, 1927.

I have made a careful examination and comparison of all of the writing submitted and as a result of this study it is my opinion that Leon Josephson filled out passport application No. 144,959 with the exception of a few words, such as "now," "none since 1909," "Commercial for self," "208 W. 14th St., N. Y. City, N. Y.," "partly bald," and "grey." This opinion includes the alleged signature and address of the identifying witness but excludes the signature of application "Samuel Liptzen" as it appears just below the oath of allegiance. There is no basis for identification of Leon Josephson as the author of this alleged signature but there is a general similarity which suggests that the form of this signature was influenced by the appearance of the writing of Leon Josephson on the document.

The questioned signature in the name of Samuel Liptzen on passport application No. 144,959 does not contain a basis for identification of Gerhart Eisler as the author. There is, however, a similarity between this questioned signature and the writing of Gerhart Eisler that is sufficient to prevent a recommendation that he be eliminated from consideration as a possible author. This similarity is limited to the general features that are not beyond the probability of coincidence in other writers, especially those of the same nationality. Conspicuous features such as the capital "S" and the small "t" may be expected to have a high incidence in the writing of others so that practically no identifying weight can be assigned to these forms.

A basis for identification would have to be found in the inconspicuous details established by habit and not by training or the unconscious imitation of the writing of others. A comparison in this respect discloses a number of irreconcilable differences between the questioned signature and the writing of Gerhart Eisler. Each detail of the following description of the questioned signature differs from the writing habit of Eisler as represented by the application, A: the cap of the "S" is broad; the base of the "a" is sharply angular and the staff of this letter is almost equal to the length of the body; the arches of the "m" are equal in height, whereas the standard writing shows a descending height with slurring of the last arch; the base of the "l" was made with an overhand motion; there is a long retrace on the right side of the "t"; the upper part of the "z" is broad; the terminal "n" does not show the slurring of the second arch.

The possibility remains that these differences are the result of a determination to write with better legibility or the result of an intention to copy some other writing for the purpose of suppressing writing habit. This hypothesis, however, is not entitled to any more weight than the possibility that the differences are the record of the writing habit of some person whose writing has a natural similarity to that of Gerhart Eisler.

ALWYN COLE,

Examiner of Questioned Documents.

Mr. STRIPLING. In other words, Mr. Cole, it is your opinion that Leon Josephson executed the passport application which contained the name Samuel Liptzen; that one Gerhart Eisler could have signed the name "Samuel Liptzen"?

Mr. COLE. That is correct.

Mr. STRIPLING. And that the signature of Samuel Liptzen was not written by a person who was used to writing the name "Samuel Liptzen"?

Mr. COLE. That is correct.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Cole, do you recall that on February 24, 1947, this committee by letter to the Treasurer of the United States requested your assistance in examining certain documents relating to a passport matter involving a passport application executed in the name of Al Gottlieb?

Mr. COLE. I do.

Mr. STRIPLING. In response to the letter from the committee on February 24, the Treasurer of the United States on March 3, 1947, dispatched a letter to the committee, which contained your report to him regarding the passport application executed under the name of Al Gottlieb. I now show you the report which I just mentioned, and ask if it is a report which you made on the Gottlieb application?

Mr. COLE. Yes, sir, this is my report.

Mr. STRIPLING. Would you read that report to the committee, please?

Mr. COLE (reading):

MARCH 3, 1947.

To the Treasurer of the United States:

There have been submitted to me for examination copies of the documents described below, and it has been requested that an opinion be given whether the person who filled out and signed documents 5 and 6, and who filled out document

4, also filled out document 1 in the name of Al Gottlieb. Also an opinion was requested whether the person who signed document 1 as Al Gottlieb also signed documents 2 and 3 as George Mink. A further opinion was requested whether the signatures of identifying witnesses on documents 1 and 3 were made by the persons who executed documents 1 through 6.

1. Passport application, dated April 11, 1934, and executed in the name of Al Gottlieb.
2. Passport application, dated March 5, 1934, and executed in the name of George Mink.
3. Passport application, dated June 13, 1930, and executed in the name of George Mink.
4. Passport application, dated August 30, 1934, and executed in the name of Samuel Liptzen.
5. Passport application, dated February 7, 1930, and executed in the name of Leon Josephson.
6. Passport application, dated December 13, 1934, and executed in the name of Leon Josephson.

The documents now identified as 4, 5, and 6 were the subject, in part, of my memorandum of February 4, 1947, in which the opinion was expressed that the person who filled out and signed applications as Leon Josephson also filled out the application in the name of Samuel Liptzen, excepting from this opinion the alleged signature of Samuel Liptzen and certain other small units of writing, but including the signature of the identifying witness "Bernard A. Hirschfield."

I have made a careful examination and comparison of all of the documents submitted, and as a result of this study, I have the following to report:

1. It is my opinion that the person who filled out and signed documents 5 and 6, and who filled out document 4, also filled out document 1 in the name of Al Gottlieb, excepting the signature of applicant and the signature of the identifying witness.
2. It is my opinion that the person who signed document 1 as Al Gottlieb did not sign documents 2 and 3 as George Mink.
3. It is my opinion that the alleged signatures of identifying witnesses on documents 1 and 3 are in the hand of different persons and that neither signature was written by the person who filled out documents 1, 4, 5, and 6, nor by the person who filled out documents 2 and 3 as George Mink.

These opinions are subject to confirmation by examination of the original documents. The copies of the documents described above are returned herewith.

ALWYN COLE,

Examiner of Questioned Documents.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Cole, here again it is your opinion that Leon Josephson filled out the passport application which was executed in the name of Al Gottlieb?

Mr. COLE. That is correct.

Mr. STRIPLING. Now, Mr. Chairman, it has been previously stated at the hearing that when Mink was arrested in Copenhagen he had on him four passports. If you will examine these passports you will find that the passport in the name of Al Gottlieb contains the picture of George Mink.

Now, Leon Josephson wrote the application for that passport. Mink also had with him a passport in his own name. They both contained the photograph of George Mink.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Stripling, what is your conclusion as to how he could have obtained all these passports, with the same pictures but different signatures?

Mr. STRIPLING. The picture which is on the Al Gottlieb passport, that of George Mink, we have determined is a photograph of a photograph. He had the picture taken at an angle which makes his appearance slightly different. However, a comparison of his photograph and that of Al Gottlieb shows that it is definitely George Mink. We are trying to show here, Mr. Chairman, that Leon Josephson, the man who refused to testify before this committee, was the man who

procured the Eisler passport, the Liptzen passport, the Al Gotlieb passport, and the George Mink passport. In other words, he was the key figure in the passport ring for the Communist Party. We have never been able to locate an individual by the name of Al Gotlieb, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. NIXON. He didn't use these passports?

Mr. STRIPLING. He had them on him.

Mr. NIXON. Mink had them on him?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. The name "Gotlieb"—

Mr. STRIPLING. He doesn't exist, so far as we know. He had four passports on him.

The CHAIRMAN. Any further questions of Mr. Cole?

Thank you, Mr. Cole, very much.

Mr. STRIPLING. The next witness, Mr. Chairman, will be Mr. Fred Beal.

TESTIMONY OF FRED ERWIN BEAL

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, Mr. Beal testified before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities on October 20, 1939. In order to conserve time, I would, before Mr. Beal is examined, like to read into the record a summation of the information which Mr. Beal testified to during 1939.

Upon the occasion of that appearance before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Mr. Beal stated that he had been a member of the Communist Party and had been an organizer for the Communist controlled and Communist inspired union called the National Textile Workers. Mr. Beal testified that he was instrumental in calling certain strikes conducted by that union. One of these strikes, according to Mr. Beal's testimony, was called in Gastonia, N. C., on April 1, 1929. During the course of this strike, the chief of police at Gastonia, N. C., was, unfortunately, killed. As a result of the death of the chief of police, Mr. Beal and six other persons were indicted by the State of North Carolina. After a trial of the matter had been conducted by the State of North Carolina, Mr. Beal and the six other defendants were sentenced to serve various terms in the North Carolina State Penitentiary.

I do not wish to go into the merits or demerits of the trial held in that connection, but, for the purpose of the record, I would like to state that after Mr. Beal was convicted, he and the other defendants were urged, while their case was on appeal, to flee to Soviet Russia to avoid incarceration in the North Carolina State Penitentiary.

Mr. Beal, in this connection, testified that he and the other defendants did go to Russia, and that Mr. Leon Josephson was instrumental in obtaining false passports for the group of defendants in order that they could travel to the Soviet Union. Prior to the obtaining of these passports, Leon Josephson, according to Mr. Beal's testimony, was active in the trial of Mr. Beal and the other defendants at Gastonia, N. C.

Mr. Beal also testified that, after he arrived in the Soviet Union, he saw Leon Josephson in Moscow upon several occasions.

Now, Mr. Beal, will you state for the record your full name.

Mr. BEAL. Fred E. Beal.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is your present occupation, Mr. Beal?

Mr. BEAL. I am working for a textile plant in New York City as a clerk.

Mr. STRIPLING. And what is your address?

Mr. BEAL. 104 Lexington Avenue, New York City.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Beal, you have heard the information which I have recited to the committee which information was given by you upon the occasion of a previous appearance before this committee.

Mr. BEAL. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is that information—is the résumé which I have given, substantially what you testified to on that occasion?

Mr. BEAL. That is correct.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Beal, you are not a member of the Communist Party at the present time, are you?

Mr. BEAL. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did you first join the Communist Party?

Mr. BEAL. In 1928, in New Bedford, Mass.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did you disassociate yourself from the Communist Party of the United States?

Mr. BEAL. Well, that is kind of hard to tell, the year, but it was when I returned back from the Soviet Union. I can refresh my memory by looking at some notes.

Well, I left the Communist Party when I returned from the Soviet Union in 1933, September 1933.

Mr. STRIPLING. Why did you return from Soviet Russia?

Mr. BEAL. Why did I return?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes.

Mr. BEAL. Well, because I didn't like conditions over there in Russia and because I didn't think they were building socialism as I had been advocating in this country.

Mr. STRIPLING. Well, you were aware that if you returned to the United States you would be facing a sentence in the penitentiary?

Mr. BEAL. I was well aware of that.

Mr. STRIPLING. What was the length of the sentence which was before you?

Mr. BEAL. Well, I had 20 years to serve if I came back.

Mr. STRIPLING. In other words, you would rather come back and serve the 20 years rather than stay in Soviet Russia?

Mr. BEAL. That is true; I would prefer to stay over here, no matter if it was in the penitentiary, than in Soviet Russia, but at that time, and I still do believe in socialism, I didn't think that the Russian Government, under the Communist Party, was putting forward the socialist idea.

I could see that the workers were not really running the government and I had been advocating such a thing for years here and I became greatly disillusioned and returned.

Mr. STRIPLING. Now, Mr. Beal, in connection with the strike at Gastonia in 1929, will you briefly describe for the committee the extent of the activities of Leon Josephson during the course of that trial?

Mr. BEAL. Well, Leon Josephson was one of the many attorneys that we had there. I would say that he was the legal end of it for the Communist Party.

Mr. STRIPLING. The legal representative?

Mr. BEAL. The legal representative, I would say, for the Communist Party.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was the defense of the defendants in that trial under the sponsorship or the direction of the International Labor Defense?

Mr. BEAL. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you look upon Mr. Josephson as a party functionary or a figure in the Communist movement?

Mr. BEAL. Yes, I considered him very important, because he represented the party in the legal sense, that is, he instructed us as to just what we should say on the stand. Each one of us who took the stand. He, in fact, governed the other lawyers that we had in the case.

Mr. STRIPLING. He didn't advise you not to be sworn and not to testify, did he?

Mr. BEAL. Yes—well, no, not in that sense, no. The Communist Party didn't know whether to put me on the stand or not. They were fearful that I wouldn't be militant enough for them, and their idea at that time was to create as much militancy as possible and get plenty of publicity on the case. Leon came in to see me many times and talked to me before I went on the stand, and he was very indignant because I was sworn in. He resented that I believed in God, which I did and which I admitted when I swore myself in. That was the first time we had an argument on that; and Arthur Garfield Hayes, who was down there representing us in the first trial, told me, "Fred, if you believe that way, you should get sworn in."

Mr. STRIPLING. In other words, Mr. Josephson was attempting to instruct you and others in technique in the trial, during the course of the trial, in such a way as to avoid proper legal procedures?

Mr. BEAL. Well, he didn't take part officially in the trial itself, in the open. He came back in the cells and interviewed us and talked to us, and told us what he considered we ought to say, and that he would take it up with the lawyer. He wanted a militant trial.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you consider him to be in the nature of an international representative, at any time, of the Communist Party?

Mr. BEAL. Well, I considered—we all considered him a representative, representing the Party, or representing the Communist Party in the United States.

Mr. STRIPLING. What about the international organization?

Mr. BEAL. I didn't find out anything about that until I got over to Russia. They didn't take up many of those matters with me.

Mr. STRIPLING. How long did you remain in the United States after you were convicted?

Mr. BEAL. Well, I left for Soviet Russia June 1930.

Mr. STRIPLING. 1930?

Mr. BEAL. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. You were out on bail at the time?

Mr. BEAL. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Would you relate to the committee the circumstances under which you were able to go to Soviet Russia, how you obtained your passport?

Mr. BEAL. Well, it first started after we were convicted in North Carolina. Leon Josephson and William Dunn both came to Washington and said we needn't worry about spending 20 years in prison over

here because we would be able to go to Soviet Russia and live over there. Most of us didn't want to go over there. That is, to stay. Most of us didn't want to go over there even at that time, because we considered that we should stay in North Carolina and fight out the issues of the case. So after we got out on bail we met in New York, that is all the defendants met in New York, and after a tour around the country we had some discussions with party leaders—

The CHAIRMAN. With whom?

Mr. BEAL. With some of the party leaders; whether or not we should go to Russia or stay in this country. At this time, Edith Miller, who was the wife of one of the defendants, said that she and Leon Josephson could get passports for us all, and that we should leave at once, before the case came up in the Supreme Court of North Carolina to determine whether or not we should have a new trial. So most of us decided that we would go over there to see what was going on, in Soviet Russia.

Edith came to me with two names—

The CHAIRMAN. Who came to you?

Mr. BEAL. Edith Miller. She came to me with two names and told me to go down to the health department in New York and get a birth certificate for one of the names. Also that I should go over to New Jersey and get another birth certificate for one of the other boys, who couldn't read or write.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did you go in New Jersey?

Mr. BEAL. Trenton.

The CHAIRMAN. The health department in Trenton?

Mr. BEAL. The city hall, I think. I am not sure. I think it was the city hall in Trenton.

The CHAIRMAN. You were after a birth certificate?

Mr. BEAL. Yes; I was after a birth certificate in order to get the passport.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. STRIPLING. Go ahead.

Mr. BEAL. And I argued with Edith because of the name. She had a Jewish name for me. I told her that I didn't look Jewish; it would be hard for me to get over to Russia on a passport like that. She gave me the name of Sammy Cohen and I argued for a long time with her that there wouldn't be any use of using that name, but she said, "That is the best name that Leon could give to me."

Mr. STRIPLING. Referring to Leon Josephson?

Mr. BEAL. Yes. I didn't see Leon all this time, but Edith had a list of names in her pocketbook. I asked her for the others. One of the other boys I think had the name "Knight." I asked her for that, and she said, "Well, he can't read or write and he wouldn't be able to use a Jewish name, he looks less Jewish than you do." So she said, "You would be the best one to go out under that name."

We argued for a long time. Finally I took the name and went down to the city hall and got the birth certificate.

The CHAIRMAN. You went to the city hall in Trenton?

Mr. BEAL. No, the city hall in New York.

Mr. STRIPLING. You got the name of Samuel Cohen?

Mr. BEAL. Yes. Well, she gave me all the history of Sammy Cohen—I don't know who he is, or never knew who he was. She told me where his father was born—but neglected to tell me where

his mother was born. I had quite an argument with a fellow concerning where my mother was born, but finally he gave me a birth certificate. Then I went over to Trenton, N. J., for the other papers, for another birth certificate, but they didn't seem to have the name "Knight" on file. I had the fellow look through different files, which took a whole morning.

Mr. STRIPLING. What was that name again?

Mr. BEAL. I think it was Knight. I am not positive.

Mr. STRIPLING. K-n-i-g-h-t?

Mr. BEAL. Yes. I am not positive it was that. One of the boys, who is dead now, he uses that. And, as I came back——

Mr. STRIPLING. Just a moment. Wasn't Trenton the residence of Leon Josephson at the time?

Mr. BEAL. Yes. I suppose he practiced law over there.

Mr. STRIPLING. Go right ahead.

Mr. BEAL. And so I came back and I told Edith that I couldn't find the name, and she said, "It is all right," and she said, "I will get it myself," she said, "You better lay low for a while and I will get the rest."

She was anxious to hurry us along on the boats and get us over there. She didn't want me to wait for the other boys for fear I would persuade them to stay, and I went myself. That is all.

Mr. STRIPLING. How did you go to the Soviet Union?

Mr. BEAL. Went over on a regular ship.

Mr. STRIPLING. I mean, what route did you take, where did you land?

Mr. BEAL. I landed in Germany, somewhere along the ports, I forget now.

Mr. STRIPLING. After you arrived in the Soviet Union, did you ever see Leon Josephson?

Mr. BEAL. Well, I saw him over there a few times. I think it was in 1930. Just after I arrived, about a month after I arrived.

Mr. STRIPLING. What year did you arrive in the Soviet Union?

Mr. BEAL. Well, I must have got over there in 1930.

Mr. STRIPLING. 1930?

Mr. BEAL. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did you first see Leon Josephson?

Mr. BEAL. Well, I don't know just the month. It was between June 1930 and December of 1930, before I left. It was one of those months. Well, I saw him several times there.

Mr. STRIPLING. When you saw Josephson in Moscow, Russia, did you believe that he had any official connection with the Soviet Government?

Mr. BEAL. Well, we all knew he belonged to what we called the GPU; used to kid him about it. We used to ask him when he was going to put us under arrest, and that sort of thing.

Mr. STRIPLING. You consider him to be a GPU agent?

Mr. BEAL. Well, he was.

Mr. STRIPLING. He was a GPU agent?

Mr. BEAL. He practically said he was. He would tell us anything.

Mr. STRIPLING. How long did you remain in the Soviet Union?

Mr. BEAL. I came back in January 1931.

Mr. STRIPLING. When you returned to the United States, did you see Leon Josephson—after you returned?

Mr. BEAL. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where did you see him?

Mr. BEAL. Well, I saw him in some private home up in the Bronx. Bill Foster and ---

Mr. STRIPLING. Bill Foster. Is that William Z. Foster?

Mr. BEAL. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Now head of the Communist Party?

Mr. BEAL. Yes; and George Maurer.

Mr. STRIPLING. How do you spell that name?

Mr. BEAL. M-a-u-r-e-r, I think. At that time, the party was anxious to get me back to Russia ---

The CHAIRMAN. You mean to send you back again, not to let you stay in the United States?

Mr. BEAL. Yes. They asked me to meet with them in a private home up in the Bronx, I don't remember the address, but when I came there Bill Foster and Leon Josephson and this George Maurer were there. They tried to persuade me to go back to Russia. I told them ---

The CHAIRMAN. Why did they want you to go back to Russia?

Mr. BEAL. Well, they said that it would be very bad for Soviet Russia if the people in this country found out that I returned to this country and was willing to go to prison. To them it didn't seem right to have me come back and go to prison here when conditions were so good in Russia, people would ask why didn't I stay.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they also say that they felt it would be bad if this Government found out that you had traveled on a false passport?

Mr. BEAL. No; they didn't say that. Not to my knowledge. Their whole idea was that if I returned to prison in this country it would be a black eye to Soviet Russia.

Mr. STRIPLING. On the occasion of this meeting with William Z. Foster and Maurer and Josephson in the Bronx, what was the attitude of Josephson concerning your return to the Soviet Union?

Mr. BEAL. Well, when I came into the room Bill Foster was walking back and forth and he was very anxious to get away and get out of there and Leon Josephson was sitting down smoking a large cigar and taking life easy when he says, "Well, Fred, why the hell don't you go back to Soviet Russia," and I said, "Well, I don't want to go." He said to Bill Foster, "What we should have done to him was to have knocked him out over there in Soviet Russia, got rid of him once and for all, instead of having him over here."

Mr. McDOWELL. Was he joking?

Mr. BEAL. No.

The CHAIRMAN. He really meant it?

Mr. BEAL. In fact, the way they were talking, I had a hunch perhaps they would do away with me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you return to the Soviet Union?

Mr. BEAL. Yes; about 6 months or so later. At this meeting we had they asked me to consider the whole thing, about going back. They said life over there in Soviet Russia will be much better. Later on, he said, we will fix it all up with the North Carolina authorities and it will be all right. He said all the boys can come back to this country, so go back and give them another try.

So I said, well, I would think it over. So I left there and I went to a farm in Connecticut where I stayed for about 6 months. During

that time a number of the party members came up to talk to me. After a while, it appears to me that the other boys weren't coming back at all, because they couldn't get out, I decided I would go back myself and give it another chance. I went back and stayed 2 years.

Mr. STRIPLING. How many went over?

Mr. BEAL. Seven of us all told.

Mr. STRIPLING. When you went back to Russia, did you ever see George Mink?

Mr. BEAL. I saw him over there several times.

The CHAIRMAN. May I ask one question. When you went back the second time, what passport did you use?

Mr. BEAL. The same one.

Mr. STRIPLING. You say you saw Mink a number of times?

Mr. BEAL. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did Mink have any official connection with the Soviet Government?

Mr. BEAL. Well, I don't know very much about that. We would meet in the clubs, in the seamen's club there, and I would see him in Moscow or Odessa, and we would talk, you know, about various things. That is the only time I met him. I saw him here in Boston a few times when I was active in the labor movement years before.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was Mink in the so-called educational committee of the Soviet Party?

Mr. BEAL. Yes; that is what we called it.

Mr. STRIPLING. What did you understand the educational committee of the Communist Party to be?

Mr. BEAL. Well, the educational committee at that time—I don't know what it is now—but at that time it was a committee of fellows who would go after those who were opposed to them in any kind of political beliefs or strikes; well, do away with them, if necessary.

Mr. STRIPLING. They were a persuasive unit?

Mr. BEAL. That is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. When you went back to the Soviet Union, were you accompanied by a man named Joe Harrison, also one of the Gastonia defendants?

Mr. BEAL. No; I went back myself.

Mr. STRIPLING. When you went over the first time did you go with a man named Joe Harrison?

Mr. BEAL. I went by myself both times.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did Jose Harrison go to the Soviet Union?

Mr. BEAL. He left a few boats before me on my first trip. The first time I went to Soviet Russia, Jose Harrison left on the boat before me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where is he now; do you know?

Mr. BEAL. I don't know.

Mr. STRIPLING. You don't know?

Mr. BEAL. I don't know where he is. Over there, I suppose.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where did you see him last?

Mr. BEAL. Well, I saw him in New York on my second return to New York, I met him in Times Square. I just bumped into him in Times Square. He said he had been looking for me, and I had been looking for him, too, because I knew he had come back. And he had been looking for me and couldn't find me, but I bumped into him, we bumped into each other in Times Square.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know whether he ever returned to the Soviet Union?

Mr. BEAL. Yes; he did.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is this man, Mr. Stripling?

Mr. STRIPLING. He was also one of the defendants in the Gastonia strike.

Mr. Beal, have you received any communication from Joe Harrison since he returned to the Soviet Union?

Mr. BEAL. No; he hasn't written me. When I met him in New York, he said, "Well, Fred, I have had enough of Soviet Russia, now I want to tell the workers everything that I seen." So he went with me to my room and said, "Let's get busy, and we will tell everything that we saw over there in Russia." But, I said, "Joe, if you start to tell what you have seen over there they will do away with your wife and your child." He said, "No; I don't think they will do anything like that." So he wrote down some stuff on paper and then after reading it I typed it myself just as he wrote it.

Mr. STRIPLING. I show you this photostatic copy of material dated June 7, 1935, and ask you if that is the material which you typed up.

Mr. BEAL. Yes; that is it.

Mr. STRIPLING. This is signed "Joe Harrison," in what purports to be his handwriting?

Mr. BEAL. Yes; he wrote that.

Mr. STRIPLING (reading):

This is an outline of a story I am going to tell about my experiences in Soviet Russia.

In other words, he told you this?

Mr. BEAL. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. It states [reading]:

I have lived in Soviet Russia for nearly five years, having arrived there about July 10, 1930. I left there recently because I was not treated in a manner that a proletarian in a working class government should be treated. This is one of the reasons; there are others, namely: Promises made to me by the Comintern and its American section were not carried out. Promise of schooling not carried out. The question of food supply. The fight for medical treatment for myself for over three years. I was not satisfied that the workers were governing themselves. I was disgusted with the chairman of the American party for not making a campaign for K. Y. Hendricks, now in the Raleigh State Prison. When I first got to the Soviet Union Weinstone—

That is William Weinstone?

Mr. BEAL. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Will you identify William Weinstone?

Mr. BEAL. William Weinstone was a representative of the Communist Party in Russia.

Mr. STRIPLING (continuing reading):

representative of the American Party in the Comintern, promised me that I could go to one of the best schools in Moscow if I would stay in the Soviet Union and not return to America. He did not keep the promise, after the Gastonia case lost its political value to the Communist Party.

Instead I was ditched to dirty buggy-infested barracks on the outside of Moscow where I was compelled to live in one room with eight other people. I was not given a book on the foreign store (isnab) and consequently had very little food. In fact, I had to live like the Russians who had very much lower standard living than any of the American workers. This broke down my health and the doctor has just told me that I have not long to live. In contrast to this, Clarence Miller, one of the other defendants in the Gastonia case, lives in comparative luxury,

having a two-room apartment house in Moscow and a book on the foreign store, all because he stood in good with the high Communist officials and does their bidding.

I was the only one wounded in the group, and ever since I have been losing blood. I could not get attention in Soviet Russia, through their bureaucratic attitude, and this has affected my heart.

The workers are not running the Soviet government. They are not running the factories. An upper crust of bureaucrats, formed into another class, runs the government and the factories and the peasants, not the workers.

I tried in every way to get the Comintern to make a campaign to free K. Y. Hendricks from the Raleigh Prison, after he returned from the Soviet Union and was picked up in New York, three years ago. But the Communist Party of America has steadfastly refused to say a word about him, either in the press or on the platform. They do not want to admit before the American worker that Hendricks left the Soviet Union. I condemn them heartily for this.

I am opposed to the Stalinist way out for the working class.

Have you seen Harrison since you met with him and he told you he was going to write such a story?

MR. BEAL. No. After he wanted to write that story, I kept telling him that it would be very bad for him to come out in public with anything of that sort, but he insisted on doing it. After a while he said, "I want to get my wife and child back from Soviet Russia," so, he said, "I will go down to the Communist Party and I will give them \$500 from the money that I can get from the story, and get her out." I said, "Joe, if you show yourself at the Communist Party headquarters they will either sic the police on you or send you back on the next boat." He promised me he wouldn't go. After a week I saw him and he said he had been to the Communist Party headquarters. So just as soon as I found out he had been at the Communist Party headquarters I moved. And he said——

MR. STRIPLING. Why did you move?

MR. BEAL. Well, I was afraid they would tell the police where I was. I was a fugitive at that time. And I said, "Joe, why did you go down there? Now you will probably have the police on you." He said, "I went there because I wanted to get my wife out, but they told me if I didn't return immediately to Soviet Russia they would put my wife in the concentration camp." I said, "Well, you had no business going there." He said, "I will have to go back." I said, "Yes, Joe, I think the best thing for you to do is to go back to Russia and take what there is, because you will never get your wife and child out." He went back. That is the last.

MR. STRIPLING. That is the last you heard of him?

MR. BEAL. Yes.

MR. STRIPLING. That is all.

THE CHAIRMAN. Has anybody else heard of him?

MR. BEAL. By the way, he also wrote me a letter in which he mentions Josephson, that—Leon Josephson gave us these passports.

THE CHAIRMAN. He wrote you a letter?

MR. STRIPLING. I have the letter.

MR. NIXON. That will be introduced in the record, will it?

MR. STRIPLING. Yes.

THE CHAIRMAN. That is the original?

MR. STRIPLING. Yes. [Reading:]

After many meetings with the executive committee of the C. P., where we were not given the permission to appeal to the C. I. on this question, Miller and his wife Edith, Leon Josephson, and others raised the fare, arranged the passports for us, and also made arrangements for us to be taken care of on the way. Five of us left for the S. U., where we arrived July 1, 1930, at Leningrad.

We can include the whole letter. That is the only portion which relates to Leon Josephson.

The CHAIRMAN. We will place the letter in the record at this point.

Mr. STRIPLING. Those are all the questions I have of Mr. Beal.

(The letter above referred to is as follows:)

When our group was finally let out of jail on bail to await the decision on our appeal, Clarence Miller, who was made secretary of the National Textile Workers Union, began a campaign among the group to jump bail and go to the S. U., as he claimed at that time by our going to jail was of no political value, as the party and the I. L. D. had let the case and, politically speaking, the issues die out for the lack of publicity. The idea of skipping bail was not Miller's original idea but was first raised by William Dunne, then a member of the Polit Bureau of the C. P., and others, among them Juliet Stuart Poyntz, then secretary of the I. L. D., and Clarence Michaelson, while we were still in jail awaiting trial.

The secretary of the Party made a decision that we were to serve our time, which for four of us meant 20 years apiece.

After many meetings with the Executive Committee of the C. P., where we were not given the permission to appeal to the C. I. on this question, Miller and his wife Edith, Leon Josephson, and others raised the fare, arranged passports for us, and also made arrangements for us to be taken care of on the way. Five of us left for the S. U., where we arrived July 1, 1930, at Leningrad.

In Leningrad we were housed in a former home of an aristocrat near the Marina Theater.

I quite remember our first meal in one of the large hotels there, where I was first time in my life served horse meat. For me it was so disgusting that I couldn't eat the rest of my meal, though, on the whole, my stay in Leningrad was not so bad. We were shown quite some consideration there. We were supplied cigarettes, even though they were quite hard to get, and entertainment.

Then after a week or ten days' stay we were sent to Moscow, where we were met by a committee in two cars. Here is where my troubles began. We were introduced to some of the leading comrades, who told what heroes we were and how proud they were of us.

Then we were sent to the house of political refugees, where we five shared a room with four other men. This is not the worst yet. The food was terrible: especially in 1930 was it so. They only served us fish, either very — or small one, with a lot of bones, so that it was almost impossible to eat.

After a few days we were sent out to speak in various places. I was sent to Magnitogorsk, a new city, which was before only a flat Siberian plain with a few mud huts in which the natives lived.

Here I was kept in a barracks which was over a block long with over a hundred men. The beds being boards laid over wooden horses with straw mattresses and pillows, and in this room I lived for over two weeks. The windows were so made that it was impossible to open them, due to fear of sand being blown into the beds.

The food here was much worse than in Moscow and was so filthily served that a bowery joint would seem a paradise in comparison. This was so only in the workers' restaurant.

But after trying to live in this way for a week I raised this question and was given the privilege of living among the engineers and there was some improvement both in food and sleeping quarters, where we had at least a place to take a bath. For the workers it was difficult to get cigarettes and even enough food. But after raising this question I was given the privilege of buying in the store conducted for the small group of American engineers.

After two weeks I returned to Moscow, where I raised the question of what I should do. I was told that I would be sent to the Lenin School. This being August 1930. Then I was sent out to Ivanovo-Voznesensk, which is also known as the Red Manchester, on account of many textile plants. Some of them are very modern. That is, they have the latest machinery.

One day I attended a meeting with the assistant director of one of the largest and most modern textile combines there. I was through this plant several times, and what I found there was enough to disgust any worker. While discussing production, I asked him what was the percentage of spoiled goods. He gave us the following figures: First year production, 92 percent damaged goods; second year production, 45 percent damaged goods. I told him it was too much, and he said in explanation that it was a new plant and a majority of the workers were always

leaving his mill and went to another industry. This is a result of the low wages and the bad food supply allowed. The wages were from one ruble 66 k. to 3.75 k. for skilled. This was in 1930, when you get almost two rubbles for a dollar on the official exchange; but on the "black exchange" or private exchange in this district you could get almost 100 rubles for a dollar.

In the nearby villages it was much worse, especially in regard to food.

Coming back to Moscow, I asked that since the question of my going to school was not definitely settled that I be sent to work in the meantime. This was done and I was sent to a textile factory to work as a color mixer for the print machines at magnificent wage of 64 rubles per month. Then after almost two months of work I was given a raise of eight rubles. But even with this wage increase it was impossible for me to live, and many is the time that I went to bed hungry; but after a strenuous — with the same people who called us heroes a few months before that I couldn't exist on this wage, I was given a subsidy of 90 rubles a month.

During this time and until I left I only had a worker's card, which entitled me to buy two pounds of bread daily, one and a half kils of sugar (approximately 3½ pounds) per month, one cake of soap, a few ounces of tea, and a kilo of cereal per month. Prices were reasonable compared to what they are at present, but according to wages then existing they were pretty high. Bread, white, 10 k. per pound; black, from 3 to 6 k. per pound, according to quality. Sugar was 95 k. for 1½ kilo; soap, 35 k.; tea, 40 k. per portion; cereal, 35 k. a kilo. This is very high when we take into consideration that average wage for workers was not more than 80 rubles per month.

Seeing these conditions, I again raised the question that I should go to school but was again sidetracked. Food at the restaurant in this shop was of the plainest kind, and you could only eat one meal a day at the shop. Prices ranging from 30 to 60 k. per meal. The service was very bad, first for the lack of dishes and cutlery. We only had a half-hour for lunch, and with our hands dirty being dirty because of having such a short period, we did not have enough time to wash our hands; and the spoons, being as soft as tin, very often broke when trying to use it as a knife and fork. We had to eat with our dirty hands.

About this time discrimination set in. We can see it the way they handled our group. First Miller was allowed to stay in the Lux Hotel and had already special privileges in regards to food. Not only that, but he was censored for being an opportunist and careerist, and that, according to the C. P. principles, should bar anyone from holding any leading position; but did this stop Miller from so doing? On the contrary, it looked as if this censor was done to blind us from the fact of discrimination; and besides, because Miller could pull political strings, he got what he wanted, and the majority got just what the natives got, which is nothing, or nearly so, in comparison to the big boys got.

I again raised the question of what I should do, but was again told to wait. I raised the question of medical treatment. I was the only one that was wounded during the shooting which took place in defense of the union headquarters on the night of June 7, 1929. And ever since then I have been moving my bowels with blood. But those supposed to be comrades instead of trying to find really what was the matter with me just sent the first time to a doctor who didn't even examine me and who sent in a report that in perfect health. How could a doctor really send in such a report is beyond my understanding. When he asked me any questions, I couldn't answer, because at that time I didn't know Russian; and he couldn't understand me when I tried to tell him what was the matter with me, because he didn't understand English. The thing they should have done was to have sent an interpreter along. So, instead of getting better, I was getting weaker. While these questions were being discussed, I was finally sent to work in the Ammo Automobile Works, which was at that time being rebuilt.

I was given a job as an apprentice on the cylinder-grinding machine with the wages of 72 rubles monthly. The conditions in this shop were of such nature as to warrant writing about. First I want to say many an American skilled worker was sent to work in this plant. But the result was that many of them could not work due to the bureaucracy existing there. Many of these bureaucrats were party members and working as engineers, often interfered in production as well as in the rebuilding of the factory, as this example will clearly show.

Mr. Taylor was sent over on a contract for a year. Taylor's experience, as he was for a number of years chief engineer of the lay-out department, Esen Motor Corporation, showed that he knew his work, but did it stop this bureaucracy from interfering with him? On the contrary, everything was done to hinder him. They would not let him use his experience or knowledge for the good of the shop,

but even went so far that Mr. Taylor could not work for weeks at a time, thereby causing a loss in gold that was being paid Mr. Taylor and for which the workers paid in the sense of less food for themselves and others, that they needed, which was exported so that Mr. Taylor could be paid.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Vail.

Mr. VAIL. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McDowell.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Beal, are you a native of North Carolina?

Mr. BEAL. No, sir.

Mr. McDOWELL. Where were you born?

Mr. BEAL. I was born in Lawrence, Mass.

Mr. McDOWELL. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. How many workers in all were in New York City at the time that they were arranging for you to go to Russia? How many people were involved in this Gastonia strike—did you say there were seven of you?

Mr. BEAL. There were seven, but we were never all together at one time; as a general rule some of us were out speaking. When we could get together, we would meet.

Mr. NIXON. How many were sent to Russia?

Mr. BEAL. We all went to Russia.

Mr. NIXON. Seven went to Russia?

Mr. BEAL. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. You went twice, did you not?

Mr. BEAL. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. And this Harrison went twice?

Mr. BEAL. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. Did any of the others go more than once?

Mr. BEAL. I don't know about the others. One of them came back and served out his time in North Carolina prison.

Mr. NIXON. That accounts for three. Where are the other four now?

Mr. BEAL. They are in Russia, so far as I know.

Mr. NIXON. Have you ever heard from them?

Mr. BEAL. No.

Mr. NIXON. You haven't heard from them for the last 10 years?

Mr. BEAL. No.

Mr. NIXON. Were they good friends of yours?

Mr. BEAL. Yes; all but one. One I wouldn't consider a very good friend.

Mr. NIXON. Normally you would expect to hear from them, would you not?

Mr. BEAL. No; not while they were in Russia; I couldn't get any mail from there.

Mr. NIXON. Well, you haven't heard from Harrison?

Mr. BEAL. No.

Mr. NIXON. He was a pretty close friend of yours?

Mr. BEAL. All the others were good friends.

Mr. NIXON. Who paid your way from Gastonia to New York when the seven went to New York City?

Mr. BEAL. The International Labor Defense took care of all that.

Mr. NIXON. Who paid for your passage to Russia?

Mr. BEAL. Well, Edith Miller gave me the money.

Mr. NIXON. During the period after you returned from Russia and spent some time in the United States, who paid for your expenses then? You didn't have any income at that time, did you?

Mr. BEAL. No. I stayed around at friends' homes.

Mr. NIXON. Friends' homes?

Mr. BEAL. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. But you were receiving funds from time to time from the International Labor Defense?

Mr. BEAL. No; not when I came back from Russia. When I came back from Russia, neither time did I get any financial help from the party. I wouldn't go near the party headquarters.

Mr. NIXON. When you were making arrangements to go to Russia for the first time, the seven of you knew apparently from your testimony, that Leon Josephson was the man who was making the arrangements?

Mr. BEAL. Yes, we knew that Leon and Edith Miller were working on it.

Mr. NIXON. You considered him the man who was handling this thing for you?

Mr. BEAL. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. Previous to the trial you said Mr. Josephson consulted with you and told you how to testify on certain things?

Mr. BEAL. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. Did he tell you to tell the truth when you went to the witness stand?

Mr. BEAL. He didn't say anything about telling the truth or telling lies. The main thing was he was carrying out the party's program.

Mr. NIXON. He didn't seem to be particularly interested that you tell the truth?

Mr. BEAL. He wasn't so anxious—the whole party, I know now, were not so anxious that we get freed; they were anxious for the publicity that they received from it. The more publicity they received the better it was for them.

Mr. NIXON. In other words, Josephson wanted you to go on the stand and declare that you didn't believe in God?

Mr. BEAL. Well, he argued with me on that. Previously Edith Miller had been on the stand and she refused to be sworn in because of that, and so there was some dispute in the party, whether any of us that went on the stand should be sworn in by saying, "So help me God," or something like that, that had something to do with God; so I argued with them that I didn't see any reason why we shouldn't, and that was when Leon came in and was talking it over with me and said he didn't see why I should, because it is time now for the southern workers to wake up and become educated.

Mr. NIXON. In other words, to summarize it, Mr. Josephson's advice to the witnesses in that trial was to state certain facts, which would serve the purpose of the Communist Party, whether those facts happened to be the true facts of the case or not?

Mr. BEAL. He was the legal mind of the party. He was representing them in that sense, and he carried to us in the prison cell the program that the party wanted carried out. And as I was almost the only one to go on the stand he talked to me.

Mr. NIXON. Why did you go to Russia the second time?

Mr. BEAL. I went because I saw no use of staying here and going to prison all by myself. I stayed in this country waiting for about 6 months to see if the other boys could get back. I didn't want to go down there to North Carolina, to prison, by myself, I wanted to go with the other boys. Then 6 months, or a year later, the whole Gastonia case had been quite forgotten, and my going back there at that time would be sort of an anticlimax. So I decided to see what was really going on in Russia, because I had been there only about 6 months altogether on my first trip. I decided to go back on another trip.

Mr. NIXON. Did you do any work there?

Mr. BEAL. When I was there I had charge of the foreigners, the Americans, specialists, skilled workers, from this country.

Mr. NIXON. That were in Russia?

Mr. BEAL. Yes. I took care to see that they had good conditions, that is, housing conditions, and got out a newspaper.

Mr. NIXON. Do you know Al Gotlieb?

Mr. BEAL. No.

Mr. NIXON. Do you know Sam Liptzen?

Mr. BEAL. No.

Mr. NIXON. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Vail?

Mr. VAIL. Were you directed to report to anyone in particular when you reached Russia?

Mr. BEAL. Well, yes; every Party member that leaves here has to report to the representative of the Communist Party when he gets to Russia.

Mr. VAIL. It was through them you received this assignment for this occupation that you followed over there?

Mr. BEAL. Yes.

Mr. VAIL. That was in the same field in which you were engaged over here, in the textile trade?

Mr. BEAL. Well, not necessarily so. When you get over there they assign you to anything that they think is best for you and for them. In my case they decided it was best that I tour the country and do some speaking.

Mr. NIXON. One more question, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. You indicated in your testimony that you did not believe that the Russian Government was interested in promoting the interests of the workers and in realizing the socialist ideal. Do you think the Russian Government is interested in that today?

Mr. BEAL. I think they are less interested today.

Mr. NIXON. What are they interested in then, if not in that?

Mr. BEAL. I don't know, today.

Mr. NIXON. What do you think, today?

Mr. BEAL. I don't know, today, only what I read in the papers.

Mr. NIXON. When you were in Russia, if they weren't interested in that, what, in your opinion, were they trying to do?

Mr. BEAL. Well, what was Hitler interested in? After all, it seemed to me that they have been interested in having power for themselves.

Mr. NIXON. The few people at the top? In other words, you see no difference between the Russian situation and the situation in Germany, substantially?

Mr. BEAL. I would just as soon live under the Nazis as the Communists.

Mr. NIXON. And you would rather spend 20 years in jail?

Mr. BEAL. Yes. I would prefer living in this country under our democratic system. There are a lot of things wrong but I think they can be corrected.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McDowell.

Mr. McDOWELL. You indicated there was some conflict between you and Josephson because you believed in God. While you were in Russia did you go to church?

Mr. BEAL. Oh, no.

Mr. McDOWELL. Was there any church there?

Mr. BEAL. Yes; there were a few churches in Moscow.

Mr. McDOWELL. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Beal, has any agent of the United States Government conferred with you concerning your passport?

Mr. BEAL. Well, they did when I was in the Raleigh Penitentiary.

The CHAIRMAN. When did they confer with you?

Mr. BEAL. Oh about—two or three years after I had been there.

The CHAIRMAN. That would be about what year?

Mr. BEAL. Oh, in 19— around 1940, I think.

The CHAIRMAN. And what agent of the Government, what agencies of the Government conferred with you about the passport?

Mr. BEAL. I don't remember.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you remember whether it was the State Department or the Immigration and Naturalization Service?

Mr. BEAL. I don't know. There were a number of people came to see me. I prefer to forget the prison.

The CHAIRMAN. How about the FBI, did they confer with you?

Mr. BEAL. The FBI came there several times.

The CHAIRMAN. About the passport?

Mr. BEAL. I don't remember whether it was the FBI or not.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did you go to prison?

Mr. BEAL. Well, I will give you the exact year.

I went in 1940, about.

The CHAIRMAN. 1940?

Mr. BEAL. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. How long did you remain?

Mr. BEAL. Four years.

Mr. STRIPLING. Four years?

Mr. BEAL. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. You were pardoned by—

Mr. BEAL. I wasn't pardoned. I was let out on parole.

Mr. STRIPLING. Who was the governor?

Mr. BEAL. Governor Hoey.

Mr. STRIPLING. Wasn't he the same man who prosecuted the case?

Mr. BEAL. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. He is now United States Senator from North Carolina.

The CHAIRMAN. Any other questions of Mr. Beal?

Thank you very much, Mr. Beal.

Call the next witness.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, I should like to state for the record that Mr. Beal will be questioned in the future in connection with

other matters and we didn't question him at length today for that reason. We only want to show his connection with Leon Josephson. The next witness will be Liston Oak.

TESTIMONY OF LISTON M. OAK

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Oak, will you please state your full name and present address?

Mr. OAK. Liston M. Oak, O-a-k; 81 Charles Street, New York City.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is your present occupation?

Mr. OAK. My present occupation is managing editor of the New Leader.

Mr. STRIPLING. Will you explain to the committee what kind of a publication the New Leader is?

Mr. OAK. It is a social democratic paper. That is to say, in more familiar American terms, it is slightly to the left of the New Deal. It is a publication that is opposed to all forms of totalitarianism, both communism and fascism—and, for Mr. Rankin's benefit, in favor of an FEPC—and in favor of a new New Deal.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Oak, were you ever a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. OAK. Yes; I was a member of the Communist Party from 1927 until 1935. I was a Communist sympathizer from the time of the Bolshevik Revolution on November 7, 1917, but circumstances were such that I wasn't able to join the party until 1927.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever hold any position in the Communist Party?

Mr. OAK. I was editor of the magazine Soviet Russia Today, the organ of the Friends of the Soviet Union; I was the editor of the magazine Fight, the organ of the American League Against War and Fascism; I was on the executive board of the Theater Union, which was a united front theater project; I was on the editorial staff of the Daily Worker; I was the representative in Charlotte, N. C., of the Daily Worker and the International Labor Defense at the time that Fred Beal and six others were tried for murder.

Mr. STRIPLING. Now, let me ask you a question right there, Mr. Oak. You stated that you were with the Friends of the Soviet Union publication?

Mr. OAK. That is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was that publication under the influence of the Communist Party?

Mr. OAK. It was under the control of the Communist Party.

Mr. STRIPLING. When you were editor of Fight magazine, was that under the control of the Communist Party?

Mr. OAK. It was.

Mr. NIXON. Which one was that?

Mr. STRIPLING. That was the official organ of the American League Against War and Fascism—which later became the American League for Peace and Democracy.

Mr. OAK. And later became the American Peace Mobilization, and now called the Win the Peace Conference.

Mr. STRIPLING. And I believe you skipped one little handspring there. After the American Peace Mobilization, didn't they become the American Peoples Mobilization?

Mr. OAK. That is right. After, I believe, that was after June 21, 1941, when Germany invaded Russia.

Mr. STRIPLING. There is no question that the Communist Party was in control of the American League Against War and Fascism?

Mr. OAK. None whatever.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Oak, you stated that you were representative of the Daily Worker in 1929 at the time of the Gastonia strike. Did you ever meet or have any contact with Leon Josephson?

Mr. OAK. I had almost daily contact with him and with William F. Dunne, who were the two Communist Party representatives there. William F. Dunne was in charge of the union aspects of the work being done. Leon Josephson was the Party representative on the battery of lawyers that they hired, and his job was to see that the defense followed what was then called a class struggle line, that is to say, that the trial was utilized for Communist propaganda rather than merely to get the defendants acquitted.

Mr. STRIPLING. What were the activities of Mr. Josephson?

Mr. OAK. Well, very largely arguing with Arthur Garfield Hays, who was the most prominent of the liberal lawyers who were defending the boys, and trying to persuade him that this line would be effective in getting them acquitted.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was there any doubt in your mind that Mr. Josephson was the legal representative of the Communist Party?

Mr. OAK. None at all.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Oak, you wrote an article which appeared in the New Leader on March 15, of this year, entitled "Alert", under the headline "Links in the Communist Chain." This article by you concerns Leon Josephson. In it you make some statements which the committee would like for you to confirm or elaborate on. You state that Josephson [reading]:

had become a more and more important link in the conspiratorial communist chain.

And, further [reading]:

He was then practicing law in Trenton, New Jersey, and boasted to me that he was in a position to get valuable information from clients, including a railroad, to forward to the Kremlin.

Will you describe the circumstances under which this statement was made by Mr. Josephson?

Mr. OAK. Which statement is that again?

Mr. STRIPLING. I will show you the article [handing article to the witness].

Mr. OAK. Well, at that time, as I stated in the article, I had an apartment on Twenty-sixth Street in New York City, which I shared with Herbert Goldfrank and Leon Josephson and George Mink and Cyril Lambkin and George Maurer—which name, by the way is spelled M-a-u-r-e-r—and various others—

Mr. STRIPLING. Pardon me. Would you identify these people? Who is Herbert Goldfrank?

Mr. OAK. Herbert Goldfrank was a chemist working in one of the big New York laboratories, in New York City.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was he a Communist?

Mr. OAK. He was a Communist Party member, and boasted of his ability to get information in the laboratory which Soviet Russia was glad to have. From conversations with Josephson and Goldfrank and

Mink and the others, I got the impression, which I stated in the article, that Josephson was becoming a more important GPU agent, and that he, as I say in the article, was in a position to get some information from his clients. I believe that one of his clients was the Pennsylvania Railroad. I am not certain.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know whether he ever represented the Baldwin Locomotive Works?

Mr. OAK. That is it. I remember now.

The CHAIRMAN. And it was not the Pennsylvania Railroad?

Mr. OAK. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. It was Baldwin Locomotive Works; not the Pennsylvania Railroad?

Mr. OAK. That is right.

He may have done work for the Pennsylvania, too; I am not sure.

Mr. STRIPLING. You mentioned a Mr. Lambkin. What is his full name?

Mr. OAK. Cyril Lambkin.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was he a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. OAK. He was, from its inception.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, in that connection——

The CHAIRMAN. What was the name?

Mr. OAK. Cyril Lambkin.

Mr. STRIPLING. I have here, Mr. Chairman, a pamphlet issued in 1922 which contains a picture account of the arrest of the Communist "underground" apparatus. When the Communist Party was underground, they were holding secret meetings in Flint, Mich., the meeting was raided and the records of the Communist Party were seized. It then became a very famous trial in Communist Party annals. I have a picture here, which appears on page 10 of this pamphlet, of a man who has been identified as being Cyril Lambkin. I will ask Mr. Oak if he can identify this person as being Cyril Lambkin. Does that appear to be Mr. Cyril Lambkin?

Mr. OAK. Yes; I think so.

Mr. STRIPLING. Here is another picture.

Mr. OAK. Yes; that is certainly him.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, on March 4, I believe it was, you made a speech on the Floor of the House concerning the procurement by the Russian Government of hundreds of thousands of patents, not only the patents of our own Patent Office, but also the patents of the German Government, which were seized by our forces when they invaded Germany. We obtained from the Department of Commerce all of the orders which the Soviet Government placed to obtain these patents. They were obtained through official Government agencies, like the Soviet Purchasing Commission, the legations in Ottawa, through the AMTORG trading corporation, and other sources, but the largest medium through which they obtained these patents was an organization or front known as the Four Continent Book Corporation of 253 Fifth Avenue, New York City. It describes itself as "importers from the USSR of new, old and rare books." I have one order here which was placed on January 2, 1945, enclosing a check for \$6,000, and requesting over 60,000 patents, United States patents. That order is signed by C. J. Lambkin.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it the same man that you have identified?

Mr. OAK. That is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. That is the same man who has since the inception of the Communist Party in this country been very active in its functions.

Now, Mr. Oak, you stated in the article that Josephson, George Mink, and Lambkin were frequent visitors to the apartment that you shared with Goldfrank, and also state that [reading]:

Lambkin, who had been a personnel manager for AMTORG, the Soviet purchasing agency in the U. S. A., was then secretary of the Friends of the Soviet Union—

Do you know him to have been associated in both of those capacities?

Mr. OAK. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. With the AMTORG Trading Corporation—

Mr. OAK. And the Friends of the Soviet Union.

Mr. STRIPLING. In your article you further stated that on your recommendation Herbert Goldfrank succeeded Lambkin as secretary of the Friends of the Soviet Union and since has risen high in the ranks of the Communist elite. Can you enlarge upon that statement for the benefit of the committee?

Mr. OAK. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. In other words, what is the present position of Mr. Goldfrank?

Mr. OAK. I don't know, but the rumor is that he is an important link in the chain of the agents of NKVD.

Mr. STRIPLING. In your article you also mention a man by the name of Switz [reading]:

whose brother Robert turned state's evidence in a trial of Soviet spies in France and was jailed for espionage.

Can you furnish the committee with any information on the subject?

Mr. OAK. I believe he is a lawyer and when his brother confessed and was jailed in France he dropped out of the activity. I don't know whether or not he was ever a member of the Communist Party. He was friendly to Lambkin and Josephson. And subsequently he has broken all connection with these people.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did Switz have any connection with the espionage ring in which Josephson, Lambkin and Mink were active?

Mr. OAK. That was my understanding.

Mr. STRIPLING. In your article you state that during the year 1937 you were in Spain and that while there you saw Hans Berger, or Eisler. Do you have any further information concerning Eisler's activities in Spain during the year 1937?

Mr. OAK. No; nothing except hearsay. I was keeping away at that time from contact with the Communists, as much as I could at least, because I had led a tourist party through Soviet Russia a few months previously which confirmed my conviction that communism was the enemy of everything that I believed in, of democracy, including democratic socialism, and as Fred Beal has testified, I found that there was a great gulf between the masses of workers and the peasants and the bureaucracy, and that there was desperate poverty. I found that the only thing that they were succeeding in doing was to build war plants.

The CHAIRMAN. In what year was that?

Mr. OAK. That was 1936. I had dropped out of activity in 1935 and 1936. I led this tourist party through Russia. I then went to Spain, during the Civil War, and I avoided contact with Communists

as much as possible, because I knew that they had murdered a number of opponents, in other parties. So I was very cautious, and I only saw him at a distance and didn't make any attempt to talk with him. I had previously met him occasionally about 1933 in New York City.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever meet George Mink; do you know George Mink?

Mr. OAK. Yes. As I said, he came frequently with Josephson and Lambkin to my apartment, and at that time he was known as a "goon" in the Maritime Union.

Mr. STRIPLING. Can you elaborate on the term "goon"? Just what is a "goon"?

Mr. OAK. A tough guy, a gangster. And it was generally understood among this group that they were all doing what was in the party called special work. In other words, they were serving as agents of the Comintern, and especially of the NKVD. I heard of Mink from time to time, from that time on, and finally I met him in a hotel in Barcelona in April 1937. He didn't know that I had become disillusioned and had resigned from the Communist Party and greeted me very cordially and invited me to his room, where he got drunk and boasted about his NKVD work, and he urged me to accept an assignment in this passport racket, and I told him that the doctor had told me that I would have to leave Spain on account of my health, whereupon he said, "That is all right, you can work in France and England and the United States."

So I told him I would think it over, and left. Incidentally, he was very sore at the time at Josephson, because Josephson, being a lawyer, had managed to finagle himself out of a jail sentence in Copenhagen and Mink had had to take the rap.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did Mr. Mink appear to be in rather flush circumstances?

Mr. OAK. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. In Spain?

Mr. OAK. Yes. He showed me a roll of bills and he boasted that he was wearing a London tailored suit which cost him \$150, and he had very expensive leather luggage, and said that that was the way to get a good reception in a hotel, the first thing they looked at was your luggage, and not your face.

A few days after that I went to see Adris Nin, the leader of the POUM—which means Parido Obrera Unification Marxista. It had broken from the Communist Party and for a time was Trotskyist in trend, and then broke with Trotskyism and became a sort of left wing Socialist Party, to the left of the Socialist Party of Spain, and was headed by Adris Nin. I went to him and warned him that Mink had boasted to me that the Communists were about to provoke the POUM, the CNT and the Left Republicans and the others in the coalition government in Catalonia, into a revolt on May 1, and Adris Nin boasted to me that they were supported by all the workers and he wasn't afraid of what the Communists might do. And very soon after that he was killed.

The day following that a man named Albert Edwards, who was an American, the representative of the American Communist Party in Barcelona, a mechanic from Detroit, called me to his hotel and told me that I had been seen leaving the office of the POUM, and wanted to

know about it. I told him that I went there as a newspaperman to interview Andris Nin, but I knew that for my own safety I had better get out of Spain, which I did in company with John Dos Passos.

The CHAIRMAN. What was that assignment that Mink offered you in the passport racket?

Mr. OAK. He didn't go into any details about it, but at that time there were a number of Communists in Spain who had entered without passports and needed passports to return.

The CHAIRMAN. I see.

Mr. McDowell.

Mr. McDOWELL. You said this man you were talking to was killed. Was he killed in battle?

Mr. OAK. No.

Mr. McDOWELL. Murdered?

Mr. OAK. He was murdered on the street—as many others were.

Mr. STRIPLING. I have no more questions. Again, Mr. Chairman, as in the case of Mr. Beal, Mr. Oak was subpoenaed here to testify concerning his connections or any information he had on Leon Josephson. Mr. Oak is, naturally, in position to testify regarding matters which are of extreme interest to the committee, and I would suggest that the committee consider subpoenaing him at a further date.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. OAK. I would request that you do subpoena me. I only appear in response to subpoena and not voluntarily.

The CHAIRMAN. We appreciate your coming.

Mr. OAK. I don't want to come because I do not approve of some of the aspects of the committee's work.

The CHAIRMAN. Have the committee any questions?

Mr. NIXON. I have a question.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. You indicated that Mr. Mink was put out because Josephson was able, because of his legal background, to get out of this "rap" in Copenhagen. Did you gather from Mr. Mink that he thought Josephson was just as guilty as he was?

Mr. OAK. I suppose so. That would be a reasonable assumption.

Mr. NIXON. That is the way Mink talked?

Mr. OAK. That is right.

Mr. NIXON. Josephson got off because he was a clever lawyer?

Mr. OAK. That is right.

Mr. NIXON. You have indicated that certain of these publications you worked for were Communist-front organizations, that they were run by the Communist Party. Obviously the committee is concerned with that problem and it is difficult at times to distinguish between an organization which is and one which is not a Communist-front organization. When you make that statement, that a certain organization is a Communist-front organization—why do you say that a certain organization is definitely a Communist-front organization, what is the test?

Mr. OAK. Well, the test in the case of those that I mentioned is the fact that I was a Communist and in them, and was in position to know that they were being run by the Communists because I helped to run them. As editor of the New Leader my one test of these new organizations is whether or not before June 21, 1941, they said that "this is an imperialist war," and put the blame largely upon the

British and French and called Roosevelt a warmonger, and then the day after Hitler attacked Russia, said the whole character of the war had changed and had become a war against fascism. That is one test.

Mr. NIXON. In other words, it is the test of the attitude of the people in the organization?

Mr. OAK. Yes. Another test is whether or not these organizations and the individuals composing them changed their political line in accordance with the changes in the line of the Party itself.

Mr. NIXON. I see. What about the test of who puts up the money to run these organizations; can that be determined with any certainty by an outsider?

Mr. OAK. That is very difficult to determine. They are much too clever.

Mr. NIXON. As a matter of fact, though, is it true that the money to run these organizations does come from the Communist Party in the first instance?

Mr. OAK. Yes, in the first instance it does, but most of the organizations are expected to, not only to raise their own money, but to contribute to the Communist Party. The Friends of the Soviet Union, and the League Against War and Fascism, raised money, and when I was, for instance, active in the Scottsboro defense committee, we turned over a certain percentage of the money to the Communist Party.

Mr. NIXON. In other words, the Communist Party makes an original investment to set up a front organization, furnishing the key personnel to direct the policy, and then proceeds to reap dividends and return funds to the Communist Party. Would that be a fair statement?

Mr. OAK. That is true.

Mr. NIXON. That is all.

Mr. VAIL. You mentioned that the policies of your paper were a little left of the principles and practices and policies of the New Deal. Is there any particular respective term applied to people embracing that ideology?

Mr. OAK. Well, the general term that we use is social democracy, which means the extension of political democracy into the industrial field. It means a program which embraces a TVA on the Missouri and FEPC and opposition to the repressive labor legislation now before Congress, and in general a liberal and labor viewpoint. In European terms it means the British Labor Party and the Socialist Party of France.

Mr. VAIL. Were you born in this country, sir?

Mr. OAK. Yes. Born in California.

Mr. VAIL. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McDowell.

Mr. McDOWELL. I have no questions, but, Mr. Chairman, I think it should be noted here that Mr. Oak has been an admirable witness. He doesn't agree with the committee, yet his citizenship here has been excellent.

Mr. OAK. My impression is that under the present chairmanship the committee is not doing as badly as it did before.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Mr. NIXON. One other question.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Oak, you indicated a moment ago that Mr. Mink in your opinion, from what you knew of him, was an agent of the Comintern, of the NKVD?

Mr. OAK. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. How would you characterize Mr. Josephson in those terms?

Mr. OAK. I would say he is also an agent of the Comintern and of the NKVD.

Mr. NIXON. An important agent?

Mr. OAK. Yes; in my opinion he is probably more important than Gerhart Eisler. I don't think that Gerhart Eisler is as important as Budenz thinks he is, and as important as his sister thinks he is. As I knew him when I was in the Communist Party he was a courier for the Comintern.

Mr. NIXON. A carrier, you mean. He carried the Party line to people here?

Mr. OAK. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. He didn't make policy?

Mr. OAK. He did not make policy.

Mr. NIXON. But Josephson you think might be actually higher, in a higher echelon than that?

Mr. OAK. I suspect that he is.

Mr. NIXON. He might be on the policy level, in other words?

Mr. OAK. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Oak.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, the passport application of George Mink, dated March 5, 1934, which is exhibit No. 2, contains a notation to the effect that the passport is to be mailed to George Mink, care of Bill Standard, 26 East Tenth Street, Apartment 5-F, New York, N. Y.

At this point I would like to introduce the record of the Communist associations of William Standard, also known as William L. Standard, who is an attorney for the National Maritime Union and the person whose address was given by George Mink at the time he applied for the passport mentioned.

The CHAIRMAN. So ordered.

(The material above referred to is as follows:)

WILLIAM STANDARD

| Organization | Affiliation | Source |
|--|--|---|
| Joint strike committee, maritime National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. | Attorney for "Bozo" Lyons Signer of message to the House of Representatives opposing renewal of the Dies committee. | Daily Worker, Mar. 25, 1936, p. 2. Leaflet attached to undated letterhead. |
| New Masses Anti-Cliveden Rally Do. | Speaker and sponsor | New Masses, Apr. 14, 1942, p. 25. New Masses, Apr. 7, 1942, p. 27. |
| New York Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. | Sponsor Member, board of directors. | Letterhead, Jan. 2, 1941. |

WILLIAM L. STANDARD

| | | |
|-----------------------------------|---|------------------------------------|
| Firemen's strike committee..... | Attorney, New York City..... | Daily Worker, Apr. 8, 1936, p. 1. |
| Marine, Firemen and Oilers Union. | Attorney for "rank and file"..... | Daily Worker, May 18, 1936, p. 3. |
| National Maritime Union..... | Attorney, defends 4 union men and Ben Field who were arrested in Jersey City charged with carrying concealed weapons. | Daily Worker, Feb. 10, 1938, p. 5. |
| New Masses..... | Answered query of New Masses, "What Presidential ticket are you supporting, and why?" | New Masses, Sept. 26, 1944, p. 32. |
| Do..... | Contributor..... | New Masses, Nov. 9, 1937, p. 17. |

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, I should like to introduce, at this time, a pamphlet distributed by the Eisler defense committee. This pamphlet is entitled "Eisler Hits Back," and it contains the names of four organizations participating in Eisler's defense. The organizations named in this pamphlet are as follows:

American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

Civil Rights Congress: This organization was formed as the result of a merger between the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties and the International Labor Defense, two well-known Communist-front organizations.

Friends of the German-American.

German-American Labor Council.

The pamphlet, Mr. Chairman, also contains the names of various individuals who are referred to as the Eisler defense committee. These persons are Max Bedacht, Dr. Felix Boenheim, Charles Collins, Eugene P. Connolly, Gustav Faber, Ida Guggenheimer, Abraham J. Isserman, Carol King, Albert Maltz, Walter Mueller.

With reference to Gustav Faber, Mr. Chairman, I should like to point out that he is the vice president of the Transport Workers Union in New York City. This union at the present time, together with the United Public Workers of America, is very active in a campaign to prevent the New York Legislature from enacting a bill which would prohibit strikes against the State or city government. The Transport Workers Union, Mr. Chairman, has been cited as a Communist-controlled union upon numerous occasions, and the association of Mr. Faber with the Eisler defense committee definitely indicates that control of this union firmly rests in the hands of agents of a foreign power.

With reference to the other individuals whose names I have mentioned, I should like to introduce their records as exhibits at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. They will be admitted.

(The material referred to above is as follows:)

CHARLES COLLINS¹

| Organization | Affiliation | Source |
|---|---|--|
| Citizens' Committee To Free Earl Browder. | Singer of petition | People's Voice, Mar. 21, 1942, p. 11. |
| Do | Speaker, Washington Heights and Inwood Citizens Committee. | Leaflet, Mass Rally, Mar. 16, 1942; Daily Worker, Mar. 18, 1942, p. 3. |
| Neuro Labor Victory Committee. | Executive secretary | Daily Worker, Oct. 26, 1942, p. 1. |
| Do | Chairman | Daily Worker, Oct. 3, 1942, p. 4. |
| Do | Speaker, anti-lynching mass meeting, Harlem. | People's World, Nov. 9, 1942, p. 3. |
| New Masses | Contributor | New Masses, Mar. 28, 1944, p. 16. |
| Workers Alliance | Speaker, New York City | Daily Worker, Feb. 24, 1937, p. 5. |
| Workers school | Instructor | Daily Worker, Dec. 3, 1943, p. 4. |
| Civil Rights Congress of the Upper West Side. | Speaker at mass rally to protest lynchings, Aug. 28, 1946, New York City. | Handbill, Lynch Terror Stalks America, undated. |
| Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee. | Trade-union sponsor | Pamphlet, I Know You Are My Brother, p. 11. |
| National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. | Conference sponsor | Letterhead, July 3, 1942. |
| National Free Browder Congress. | Signer of letter to President Roosevelt. | Daily Worker, Mar. 5, 1942, p. 5. |
| New York Trade Union Committee To Free Earl Browder. | Speaker | Daily Worker, Feb. 20, 1942, p. 3. |
| Science and Society | Speaker at forum | Daily Worker, Nov. 23, 1942, p. 3; Nov. 28, 1942, p. 1. |
| Spanish Refugee Appeal of Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee. | National sponsor | Letterhead, Feb. 26, 1946. |
| Workers Alliance | Speaker, New York City | Daily Worker, Jan. 1, 1947, p. 3. |

¹ Biographical sketch, the Worker, May 2, 1943, magazine section, p. 5. Petitions collected to put Collins on the 1946 Ballot—Daily Worker, Sept. 3, 1946, p. 5; Sept. 6, 1946, p. 3.

CAROL KING

| Organization | Affiliation | Source |
|---|--|--|
| American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom. | Sponsor of citizens rally, Apr. 13, 1940. | Leaflet, citizens rally, Carnegie Hall, New York City, Apr. 13, 1940, sponsored by American committee. |
| American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. | Advisory board member. | Call to third annual conference. |
| Do. | Member, advisory board. | Letterhead, January 1940. |
| Do. | Member, board of directors. | Booklet, "The registration of aliens" (back cover). |
| Do. | do. | Undated leaflet. |
| Do. | Panel speaker at conference. | Program Fifth National Conference, Atlantic City, N. J., Mar. 29-30, 1941. |
| Do. | Signer of letter opposing alien registration. | Daily Worker, Nov. 23, 1939, p. 3, c. 7-8. |
| Do. | Speaker. | Daily Worker, Oct. 29, 1943, p. 4. |
| Do. | Sponsor. | Letterhead, Sept. 11, 1941. |
| Do. | do. | Letterhead, Fourth Annual Conference, Hotel Annapolis, Washington, D. C., Mar. 2-3, 1940. |
| Do. | Counsel. | Undated letterhead (summarizes 1946 work of organization). |
| Do. | Supporter of Celler bill. | Daily Worker, Apr. 11, 1938, p. 5. |
| Civil Rights Congress. | Attorney for Gerhart Eisler. | Daily Worker, Feb. 28, 1947, p. 2. |
| Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America. | Sponsor. | Program leaflet, "Call to a conference on constitutional liberties in America," June 7, 1940, p. 4. |
| Congress on Civil Rights, Detroit, Mich., Apr. 27-28, 1946. | Nominated for continuations committee. | List published by the Congress. |
| Equal Justice. | Sent greetings to the International Labor Defense. | Equal Justice, May 1938, p. 6. |
| Golden Book of American Friendship with the Soviet Union. | Signer. | Soviet Russia Today, Nov. 1937, p. 79. |
| International Labor Defense. | Attorney (appeals for admittance of William Gallagher into the United States.) | Daily Worker, May 13, 1938, p. 4. |
| Do. | Attorney, defending Strecker (Communist). | Equal Justice, May 1939, p. 3. |
| Do. | Attorney, member of legal advisory board. | Equal Justice, July 1938, p. 3. |
| Do. | Attorney, New York. | Equal Justice, Nov. 1938, p. 1. |
| Do. | Member, legal advisory committee. | Undated letterhead, national office. |
| Do. | Sent greetings to the national conference. | Equal Justice, July 1939, p. 4. |
| Do. | Speaker with Earl Browder. | Proceedings and report p. 35. |
| International Juridical Association. | Secretary. | Daily Worker, Oct. 6, 1942, p. 5. |
| Labor Defender. | Contributor. | "What is the I. J. A.?" |
| League for Mutual Aid. | Attorney. | Labor Defender, June 1937, p. 8. |
| Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy. | Lawyers' Committee. | Undated leaflet. |
| National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. | Signer of Appeal on behalf of Darcy (Communist). | Letterhead, July 6, 1938. |
| Do. | Sponsor. | Daily Worker, Dec. 19, 1940, p. 5. |
| National Lawyers Guild. | Chairman, committee on American citizenship, immigration, and naturalization. | Letterhead, Nov. 6, 1940. |
| Do. | Director ex officio. | News-letter, National Lawyers Guild, July 1937, p. 2. |
| Do. | Member. | Letterhead, May 28, 1940. |
| New York City Conference Against War and Fascism. | Sponsor. | Committee file. |
| Nonpartisan committee for the reelection of Congressman Vito Marcantonio. | Member. | Daily Worker, Jan. 11, 1937, p. 2. |
| North American Spanish Aid Committee. | Executive board member. | Letterhead, Oct. 3, 1936. |
| Prestes Defense Committee. | Signer of cable. | Letterhead, June 18, 1940. |
| Morris Schappes Pardon Plea (Communist). | Signed plea pardon for Morris Schappes. | Daily Worker, Feb. 13, 1937, p. 2. |
| Schappes defense committee. | Sponsor. | People's World, Apr. 20, 1944, p. 3. |
| Do. | Sponsor. | Letterhead, undated. |
| Do. | Supporter. | Pamphlet, "In the case of Morris U. Schappes," p. 10. |
| United American Spanish Aid Committee. | Executive Board. | Pamphlet "In the case of Morris U. Schappes," p. 12. |
| | | Undated form letter. |

CAROL W. KING

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| National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights. | Signer of open letter on Dies Committee. | Daily Worker, May 13, 1940, pp. 1, 5. |
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CAROL WEISS KING²

| Organization | Affiliation | Source |
|---|--|---|
| American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born. Do..... | Attorney for Rudolf Rui Attorney conducting deportation defense of John Ujich, (Communist). | Daily Worker, May 8, 1937, p. 5. Daily Worker, May 25, 1935, p. 2, c. 8. |
| Communist International | Pamphlet advertised | Communist International, May 1, 1931, p. 251. |
| Communist Party | Attorney for Earl Browder (Communist). | Daily Worker, Sept. 5, 1940, p. 3. |
| Daily Worker..... | Sold subscriptions to the Daily Worker. | Daily Worker, June 9, 1924, p. 5. |
| International Labor Defense | Attorney in appeal to U. S. Supreme Court in case of Earl Lee (Communist). | Daily Worker, May 16, 1933. |
| Do..... | Attorney on Scottsboro case..... | Daily Worker, Mar. 8, 1933. |
| Do..... | Employed by | Daily Worker, Oct. 29, 1930. |
| Do..... | Retained by to prepare necessary legal papers in connection with 3 Communist Philippine leaders. | Daily Worker, July 10, 1933, p. 2, and Aug. 17, 1933. |
| Do..... | National committee | (Chicago) Daily Record, July 20, 1939, p. 5, c. 7. |
| League for Mutual Aid | Member | New Masses, Mar. 31, 1936, p. 2. |
| National Committee to Aid Victims of German Fascism. Do..... | Supporter | Letterhead, July 3, 1934. |
| Do..... | Conducted defense of Harry Bridges (Communist). | Picture, Daily Worker, Jan. 1, 1940. |
| Do..... | Conducted defense of Harry Bridges (Communist) in second deportation proceedings. | Daily Worker, Apr. 3, 1941, p. 3, c. 5. |
| Do..... | Attorney for Guido Seriom (Communist) facing deportation to Italy. | Chicago card. |
| Do..... | Attorney for Minor, Amter, and Raymond (Communists). | Daily Worker, June 24, 1930, p. 1. |

EUGENE P. CONNOLLY³

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|---|---|--|
| Amalgamated Association of Street Electric and Railway Motor Coach Employees Union. | Leader of sit-down strike; New York City. | Daily Worker, Mar. 11, 1937, p. 3. |
| American Committee for Spanish Freedom. | Member, labor committee..... | Letterhead, Jan. 21, 1946. |
| American Labor Party | Member, of county committee, signer of affidavit. | List submitted by Eugene P. Connolly in suit against Harry Greenberg et al, Oct. 19, 1939, p. 4. |
| American Labor Party, New York County, N. Y. | Signer of open letter sponsored by the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties denouncing United States Attorney General Biddle's charges against Harry Bridges and the Communist Party. | Daily Worker, July 19, 1942, p. 4. |
| American Labor Party State Meeting, Utica, N. Y. | Ejected from meeting..... | Daily Worker, Sept. 16, 1940, p. 1. |
| American Labor Party | Speaker, mass rally..... | Protest brutal Nazi persecutions; a handbill. |
| American Peace Mobilization | Guest of honor, Vito Marcantonio testimonial dinner, Mar. 28, 1941 Hotel Pennsylvania, New York City. | New Masses, Apr. 1, 1941, p. 29. |
| American Peace Mobilization Washington Peace Mobilization. | Speaker, protest meeting, Murray's Hall, Washington, D. C., Jan. 25, 1941. | Handbill H. R. 1776, Dictatorship * * * war. |
| American Peace Mobilization | Signer of call | Call to American People's meeting, p. 2 New York City—Apr. 5-6, 1941. |
| Citizens Committee for Maritime Strikers. | Member, advisory board; mutiny case. | Daily Worker, Apr. 13, 1936, p. 1. |
| Columbus Peace Association | Speaker | Handbill, no AEF no convoys. |
| Communist Party | Character witness for Arthur R. Braunlich, Jr. charged with being a Communist. | Daily Worker, July 10, 1941, p. 4. |
| Free Browder meeting..... | Speaker | New Masses, Dec. 9, 1941, p. 28. |
| Gerson supporters..... | Signer of letter..... | Daily Worker, Feb. 10, 1938, p. 1. |
| Greenwich Village Joint Committee To Aid Spanish Democracy. | Speaker | Daily Worker, Feb. 23, 1939, p. 2. |
| Joint Committee for Trade Union Rights. | Signer of telegram to President Roosevelt in behalf of International Fur and Leather Workers Union defendants. | Daily Worker, Nov. 11, 1940, p. 1, 5. |

² Hearings, Vol 1-14: 503, 505, 574, 882. Executive hearings: 3190, 3260f, 3562, 3564f.³ Public hearings: 7953, 8075, 8109, 8236, 8395f. Appendix V: 1562, 1665, 1667. Report 1311: 79, 153f.

EUGENE P. CONNOLLY³—Continued

| Organization | Affiliation | Source |
|--|--|---|
| Knickerbocker Democrats | Member | Daily Worker, Feb. 17, 1936, p. 2. |
| Knickerbocker Democrats Association. | President (National Youth Congress). | Daily Worker, Apr. 13, 1936, p. 1. |
| National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. | Signer of open letter to Mayor of Stalingrad. | Soviet Russia Today, June 1943, p. 21. |
| National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. | Signer | News release, Dec. 26, 1941. |
| Do. | Signer of open letter | Booklet "600 prominent Americans," p. 18. |
| Do. | Conference sponsor | Letterhead, July 3, 1942. |
| Do. | Signer of message to the House of Representatives opposing renewal of the Dies Committee. | Leaflet, attached to undated letterhead. |
| Nonpartisan Committee for the Reelection of Congressman Vito Marcantonio. | Member | Letterhead, Oct. 3, 1936. |
| Open letter on Harry Bridges | Signer | Daily Worker, July 19, 1942, p. 4. |
| Progressive Committee to Rebuild the American Labor Party. | Member, executive committee | Leaflet. |
| Do. | Candidate for delegate to judicial convention Tenth Assembly District Manhattan primaries. | Daily Worker, Sept. 17, 1940, p. 4. |
| Do. | Chairman | Daily Worker, Sept. 2, 1940, p. 4. |
| Do. | Director, statement on controversy in Party. | Daily Worker, Sept. 21, 1940, p. 4. |
| Do. | Director | Daily Worker, Sept. 6, 1940, p. 3. |
| Do. | Organizing director opposing both Roosevelt and Willkie. | Daily Worker, Sept. 13, 1940, p. 5. |
| Reichstag Fire Trial Anniversary Committee. | Signer of declaration honoring Dimitroff. | New York Times, Dec. 22, 1943, p. 40. |
| Statement condemning activities of the "Ravkin" committee. | Quoted in Daily Worker New York City councilman. | Daily Worker, Apr. 6, 1946. |
| Transport Workers Union, Taxi division. | Director—arrested | Daily Worker, Feb. 8, 1939, p. 4. |
| United Nations ball | Participant | Daily Worker, Jan. 11, 1943, p. 3. |
| Veterans against Discrimination of Civil Rights Congress of New York. | Public sponsor | Letterhead, dated May 11, 1946. |
| Workers Alliance. | Speaker | Daily Worker, May 18, 1938, p. 1. |
| Do. | Demonstrator—arrested | Daily Worker, Feb. 17, 1936, p. 1. |
| Record from Chicago Card Files: | | |
| Organization director of the Progressive Committee to Rebuild the A. L. P. (American Labor Party). | | Daily Worker, Sept. 13, 1940, p. 5, c. 2. |
| Signed letter condemning War Power bill. | | Daily Worker, Feb. 18, 1941, p. 5, c. 2. |
| Picture | | Daily Worker, Mar. 4, 1941, p. 1, c. 2. |
| Will be main speaker at the Helen Lynch memorial meeting | | Daily Worker, Mar. 14, 1941, p. 3, c. 5. |
| Chairman of the American Labor Party of New York County, spoke at Italian banquet celebrating the second anniversary of L'Unita del Popolo—Italian-American newspaper. | | Daily Worker, Mar. 29, 1941, p. 5, c. 4. |
| Spanish refugee appeal of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee. | National sponsor. | Letterhead, Feb. 26, 1946. |
| Will speak at the third biennial national conference of the International Labor Defense. | | Daily Worker, Apr. 4, 1941, p. 5, c. 5. |

FELIX BOENHEIM

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|-------------------------------------|--------|------------------------------------|
| German-American League for Culture. | Leader | Daily Worker, Feb. 11, 1942, p. 2. |
|-------------------------------------|--------|------------------------------------|

WALTER MUELLER

| | | |
|--|---|---|
| Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights. | Sponsor | Program of the conference, Feb. 12, 1940. |
| National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. | Signer of message to House of Representatives opposing renewal of the Dies Committee. | Leaflet, attached to undated letterhead. |

GUSTAVE FABER⁴

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|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Transport Workers Union ⁵ | Vice president, New York City | Daily Worker, June 26, 1937, p. 3. |
| Daily Worker | Contributor | Daily Worker, May 1, 1937, p. 4. |

³ Public hearings: 7953, 8975, 8109, 8436, 8398f. Appendix V: 1662, 1665, 1667. Report 1311: 79, 153f.⁴ Public hearings: 1046, 1058f.⁵ Not cited as a Communist front.

ABRAHAM ISSERMAN⁵

| Organization | Affiliation | Source |
|--|--|---|
| American League for Peace and Democracy. | Member, executive committee, New York City division. | Peace Year Book, 1939-40, p. VIII. |
| Communist Party | Attorney, Jersey City, N. J. | Daily Worker, Dec. 8, 1936, p. 3. |
| Communist Party, National Civil Liberties Federation. | Counsel for Mrs. Dorothy Rose Blumberg, Communist Party, Maryland State Secretary. | Daily Worker, Oct. 9, 1940, p. 3. |
| Council for Pan-American Democracy. | Signer, open letter to President of Brazil to save Luiz Carlos Prestes. | New Masses, Dec. 3, 1940, p. 28. |
| International Labor Defense. | Attorney—represented four Communist members arrested for distributing leaflets in Carteret, N. J. All fined \$15. | Daily Worker, Feb. 24, 1930. |
| Do | Attorney | Daily Worker, June 28, 1934. |
| International Labor Defense and Civil Liberties Union. | do | Daily Worker, Aug. 13, 1935, p. 1, c. 5. |
| National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. | Counsel—spoke at Odd Fellows Hall, Washington, D. C. | Daily Worker, Jan. 8, 1941, p. 5, c. 3. |
| Do | Member executive committee | Pamphlet, National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. |
| Do | do | Letterhead, Nov. 6, 1940. |
| Do | Panel member at conference | Call National Action Conference for Civil Rights, Washington, D. C., Apr. 19-20, 1941. |
| Do | Represented in suit for injunction to restrain metropolitan and district commissioners who were charged with arresting leaflet distributors. | Daily Worker, Sept. 20, 1940, p. 4, c. 7. |
| Do | Signer of appeal on behalf of Darcy (Communist). | Daily Worker, Dec. 19, 1940, p. 5. |
| National Lawyers Guild. | Member, Newark, N. J. | Committee file. |
| United Electrical and Radio Workers. | Attorney, Camden, N. J. | Daily Worker, July 27, 1936, p. 3. |
| Filed brief with the U. S. Supreme Court to drop indictments against Communist leaders charged with American League Against War and Fascism. | Court to drop indictments against Communist leaders charged with contempt by the Dies committee. | Daily Worker, Apr. 1, 1941, p. 3, c. 5. |
| American League for Peace and Democracy. | New Jersey State chairman | Daily Worker, Jan. 6, 1936, p. 4. |
| Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America. | Speaker | Daily Worker, Apr. 27, 1938, p. 8. |
| International Juridical Association. | Sponsor | Program leaflet, Call to a Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America, June 7, 1940, p. 4. |
| National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, American Peace Mobilization. | “What is the IJA?” | Daily Worker, Sept. 11, 1940, p. 4. |
| Do | Attorney for suit filed against the officials, Washington, D. C. | Daily Worker, Sept. 20, 1940, p. 4. |
| Do | Attorney in restraint case, Washington, D. C. | Letterhead, July 3, 1942. |
| Do | Counsel | Undated letterhead. |
| Do | do | Leaflet, attached to undated letterhead. |
| Do | Signer of message to House of Representatives opposing renewal of the Dies Committee. | Letterhead, July 12, 1939. |
| American League for Peace and Democracy. | Member, national committee | Daily Worker, Feb. 3, 1939, p. 4. |
| American Newspaper Guild | Counsel | Mimeographed list issued by the Congress. |
| Congress on Civil Rights, Detroit, Michigan. April 27-28, 1946. ⁵ | Member, organization committee | List published by the Congress. |
| Do ⁵ | Nominated for continuations committee. | Program, Congress on Civil Rights. |
| Do ⁵ | Witness, public hearing, Apr. 27. | Consumers Union reports, November 1937, p. 13. |
| Consumers Union | Legal adviser | Letterhead, Feb. 18, 1938. |
| Do | Member, board of directors | Letterhead, July 11, 1940. |
| Council for Pan American Democracy. | Member, executive committee | Film Survey, June 1939, p. 4. |
| Film Alliances for Democracy | do | Films for Democracy, April 1939 p. 2 |
| Films for Democracy | do | Proceedings and report, p. 6. |
| International Labor Defense | Chairman, panel discussion, national conference. | Proceedings and report, National Conference, p. 38. |
| Do | Member, resolutions committee | Booklet, “600 Prominent Americans,” p. 23. |
| National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. | Signer, open letter | Consumers Union reports, July 1938, p. 24. |
| National Lawyers Guild | Chairman, committee on consumer and cooperative organizations. | |

⁵ Not cited as a Communist front.⁶ Executive Hearings: 3594. Public hearings: 125, 462f, 470, 536, 2193, 4705, 5926, 6278. Report 1311: 51, 54, 104, 149.

ABRAHAM ISSERMAN ⁶—Continued

| Organization | Affiliation | Source |
|--|---|---|
| National Maritime Union..... | Attorney for 4 Maritime Union members and Ben Field who were arrested in Jersey City. | Daily Worker, Feb. 18, 1938, p. 1. |
| New Masses Anti-Cliveden Rally Do..... | Sponsor..... Speaker and sponsor..... | New Masses, Apr. 7, 1942, p. 27. New Masses, Apr. 14, 1942, p. 25. |
| North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy..... | Tag day sponsor, New York City. | Daily Worker, Feb. 27, 1937, p. 2. |
| Radio and Electric Workers..... | Attorney, Camden, N. J..... | Daily Worker, July 9, 1936, p. 2. |
| School for Democracy..... | Guest lecturer..... | Catalog and program, January 1942. |

IDA GUGGENHEIMER ⁷

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| Equal Justice..... | Sent greetings to the International Labor Defense. | Equal Justice, May 1938, p. 6. |
| International Labor Defense..... | Sponsor of summer milk drive, 1939. | Equal Justice, June 1939, p. 7. |
| People's Radio Foundation..... | Stockholder (Hotel Ansonia, N. Y.). | Application for broadcasting station construction permit, July 27, 1945, p. 25. |
| Progressive Committee To Rebuild American Labor Party..... | * Candidate for delegate to judicial convention, 15th Assembly District, Manhattan, primaries. | Daily Worker, Sept. 17, 1940, p. 4. |
| Refugee scholarship and peace campaign..... | Sponsor..... | Letterhead, Aug. 3, 1939. |
| Signed plea pardon for Marris Schappes..... | | People's World, Apr. 20, 1944, p. 3. |
| Calls High Court decision in Browder case the "meanest form of sadism." | | Daily Worker, Mar. 3, 1941, p. 5, c. 6. |
| Consumers Union..... | Sponsor..... | Undated circular. |
| Equal Justice..... | Sent greetings to International Labor Defense. | Equal Justice, May 1940, p. 7. |
| International Labor Defense..... | Member, national committee..... | Undated letterhead. |
| Do..... | Sponsor, Christmas drive..... | Equal Justice, Nov. 1938, p. 4. |
| League of Women Shoppers..... | Sponsor..... | Letterhead, Oct. 7, 1935. |
| Nonpartisan Committee for the Re-election of Vito Marcantonio..... | Member..... | Letterhead, Oct. 3, 1935. |
| International Labor Defense National Committee..... | | Chicago Daily Record, July 20, 1939, p. 5, c. 7. |

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| American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born..... | Member, board of directors..... | Undated leaflet. |
| American League Against War and Fascism..... | Contributor to Fight..... | Fight, Nov. 1933, p. 8, 9. |
| Artists' Front to Win the War..... | Sponsor..... | Program, Artists' Front to Win the War, Oct. 16, 1942, p. 5. |
| Committee for Citizenship Rights..... | Endorser..... | Letterhead, Jan. 10, 1942. |
| Communist International..... | Book advertised..... | Communist International, May 1938, back cover. |
| Communist Party..... | Playwright; play given for benefit. | Daily Worker, May 4, 1936, p. 2. |
| Do..... | Signer of statement to President defending Communist Party. | Daily Worker, Mar. 5, 1941, p. 2. |
| Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America..... | Sponsor..... | Program leaflet. Call to a Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America, June 7, 1940, p. 4. |
| Daily Worker..... | Author of Private Hicks, story of National Guard man who refuses to obey orders. | Daily Worker, Feb. 7, 1939, p. 7. |
| Do..... | Contributor..... | Daily Worker, Dec. 16, 1933; Sept. 17, 1934. |
| Do..... | Picture..... | Daily Worker, July 22, 1940, p. 5, c. 5; July 26, 1940, p. 7, c. 4; Jan. 17, 1941, p. 7, c. 8; Mar. 7, 1941, p. 7, c. 8. |
| Frontier films..... | Staff member..... | Daily Worker, Apr. 6, 1937, p. 9. |
| International Publishers..... | Author..... | Catalog, p. 14. |
| International Workers Order: Junior Section..... | Sponsor, plays for children contest | New Masses, Aug. 27, 1940, p. 21. |
| John Reed Club..... | Spoke at symposium in New York City. | Daily Worker, Feb. 10, 1934. |
| League of American Writers..... | Member..... | Bulletin of the League of American Writers, p. 11. |
| Do..... | Member, national board..... | The Bulletin of the League of American Writers, p. 12. |
| Do..... | Signer of Call to Fourth Congress, June 6-8, 1941, New York City. | New Masses, Apr. 22, 1941, p. 25. |

⁶ Executive Hearings: 3564. Public hearings: 125, 462f, 470, 536, 2193, 4705, 5936, 6278. Report 1311: 51, 54, 104, 149.

⁷ Public hearings: 499, 505, 8457. Appendix V: 1657, 1683. Report 1311: 152.

⁸ Executive hearings: 3257. Public hearings: 375, 540, 562.

ALBERT MALTZ⁸—Continued

| Organization | Affiliation | Source |
|--|---|--|
| League of American Writers..... | Signer of statement on behalf of second front (vice president). | Daily Worker, Sept. 14, 1942, p. 7; People's World, Sept. 23, 1942, p. 5. |
| Do..... | Signer of telegram to Gov. Lehman urging veto of McNaboe bill. | Daily Worker, Mar. 26, 1938, p. 5. |
| Do..... | Vice president. | New Masses, June 17, 1941, p. 9. |
| Do..... | Will speak on the problems of the social novelist at League of American Writers. | Daily Worker, Jan. 30, 1941, p. 7, e. 8; Picture Daily Worker, Mar. 7, 1941, p. 7, e. 8. |
| Do..... | Writer, statement on anti-Semitism. | We Hold These Truths, p. 70. |
| National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. | Signer of appeal on behalf of Darcy (Communist). | Daily Worker, Dec. 19, 1940, p. 5. |
| Do..... | Signer of message to House of Representatives opposing renewal of the Dies Committee. | Leaflet, attached to undated letterhead. |
| Do..... | Signer, open letter. | Booklet, "600 Prominent Americans," p. 25. |
| Do..... | Sponsor. | Letterhead, Nov. 6, 1940. |
| Do..... | Signer. | News release, Dec. 26, 1941. |
| Do..... | Signer, open letter denouncing United States Attorney General Biddle's charges against Harry Bridges and Communist Party. | Daily Worker, July 19, 1942, p. 4. |
| New Masses..... | Contributor. | New Masses, Aug. 17, 1937, p. 16; Jan. 26, 1937, p. 23; Dec. 15, 1936, p. 37. |
| Do..... | Speaker at symposium, New Masses Theater night, May 26, 1941, Manhattan Center. | New Masses, May 27, 1941, p. 32; May 13, 1941, p. 30. |
| New Masses Letter to President | Signer. | New Masses, Apr. 2, 1940, p. 21. |
| New Theater League..... | Guest. | Daily Worker, June 10, 1938, p. 7. |
| Do..... | Produces Black Pit by Maltz. | Daily Worker, Jan. 8, 1936, p. 3. |
| New Theater League and New Dance League. | Contributor, New Theater. | New Theater, May 1935, p. 8. |
| Open Letter on Harry Bridges. | Signer. | Daily Worker, July 19, 1942, p. 4. |
| Soviet Russia Today..... | Issued statement in support of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. | Soviet Russia Today, September 1941, p. 30. |
| Spanish Refugee Appeal of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee. | National sponsor. | Letterhead, Feb. 26, 1946. |
| Sunday Worker..... | Contributor. | Daily Worker, Dec. 21, 1935, p. 3. |
| Will write a serial story, the Underground Stream, depicting the life of a Communist organizer and hero. | Contributor. | Sunday Worker, July 21, 1940, p. 1, e. 1. |
| Third American Writers' Congress. | Cochairman of arrangements committee; drama. | Program of the Third American Writers' Congress. |
| Do..... | Signer of call. | Direction, May-June 1939, p. 1. |
| Workers Library Publishers. | Author. | Workers Library Catalog, 1938, p. 44. |

MAX BEDACHT⁹

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| American League Against War and Fascism. | Endorser of conference..... | Daily Worker, Mar. 4, 1937, p. 2. |
| Daily Worker..... | Biography. | Daily Worker, Oct. 13, 1933, p. 5. |
| Communist Party..... | Biography. | Daily Worker, Nov. 23, 1933, p. 3, e. 4. |
| Do..... | Candidate, Fourteenth Congressional District, New York City. | Daily Worker, Oct. 26, 1936, p. 5. |
| Do..... | Candidate for United States Senator. | Daily Worker, Aug. 28, 1931. |
| Do..... | Member, national committee. | Memorandum from Earl Browder, Nov. 27, 1939. |
| Do..... | Sent communication protesting prosecution of Sam Darcy (Communist) to Matthew Brady, district attorney, San Francisco, Calif. | Investigator Steedman's report, June 3-5, 1941. |
| Communist Party..... | Speaker at meeting of central committee. | Daily Worker, Nov. 22, 1935, p. 2. |
| Communist Political Association. | Speaker. | The Worker, Sept. 10, 1944, p. 7. |
| Daily Worker..... | Contributor. | Daily Worker, Oct. 21, 1933; Jan. 1, 1934. |
| Do..... | Picture. | Daily Worker, Oct. 13, 1933. |

⁸ Executive hearings: 3257. Public hearings: 375, 549, 562.⁹ Executive hearings: 343, 591 f., 594, 3176, 3354. Public hearings: 147 ff., 218, 220, 238, 311, 376, 433, 435, 439, 463, 470, 497, 505, 578, 580, 1587, 1594, 2036, 2108, 3086 f., 1281 f., 1890, 1513, 1524 f., 4541, 4568, 4590, 4617, 4619, 4632, 4646, 4672, 5378, 5453, 5475, 5601, 5770, 5787, 5802, 5825 f., 5931, 5951 f., 5983, 5993, 5995 f., 6040, 6028, 6029, 6023 f., 6042, 7015, 7097, 7127, 7129, 7143 f., 7352, 7391, 7479, 7603, 7694, 7779, 7772. Appendix, vol. 10: XXVII 1940 House Report: 5. Appendix I: 334 f., 343, 458, 182, 486 f., 490, 494 f., 502, 619, 813, 891 ff., 901, 915 f. Appendix V: 1625 ff., 1653, 1660, 1672. Appendix IX: Report 1311: 102, 135, 152 f., 1st.

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| Organization | Affiliation | Source |
|--|--|---|
| Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Battalion. | Delegate to Spain..... | Daily Worker, Aug. 23, 1937, p. 5. |
| International Labor Defense..... | Greetings to; urges support of International Workers Order. | Daily Worker, Apr. 12, 1937, p. 5. |
| Do..... | Member national committee..... | Letterhead, Feb. 18, 1929. |
| Do..... | Sponsor, Haymarket memorial meeting, New York City. | Daily Worker, Sept. 25, 1937, p. 2. |
| International Workers Order, national secretary. | Addressed T. U. conference in Detroit. | Daily Worker, Aug. 16, 1933. |
| International Workers Order..... | Editor of Fraternal Outlook..... | Daily Worker, June 6, 1942, p. 8. |
| Do..... | Elected treasurer of national committee formed in International Workers Order to raise money for support of 1936 Communist election. | Daily Worker, Aug. 4, 1936, p. 1, c. 4. |
| Do..... | General secretary..... | Young Communist League Year Book, 1937, p. 39; Daily Worker, Feb. 15, 1937, p. 3, c. 2; June 10, 1940, p. 1, c. 2; People's World, Nov. 20, 1942, p. 5. |
| Do..... | General secretary, statement on Trotskyism. | Daily Worker, Feb. 20, 1937, p. 6. |
| Do..... | National general secretary. | Daily Worker, May 13, 1935, p. 2. |
| Do..... | Secretary; appeals for support for the Daily Worker. | Daily Worker, Nov. 20, 1936, p. 1. |
| Do..... | Speaker at mass meeting at Coliseum, Chicago. | Daily Worker, June 14, 1933. |
| Do..... | Speaker at fourth anniversary, New York. | Daily Worker, Jan. 21, 1934. |
| National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. | Sponsor..... | Call to the Congress of American-Soviet Friendship, Nov. 6-8, 1943, pamphlet, p. 4. |
| Do..... | do..... | Memorandum issued by the council, Mar. 18, 1946. |
| National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. | Signer of message to House of Representatives opposing renewal of the Dies committee. | Leaflet, attached to undated letterhead. |
| New York Workers School ⁵ | Sponsor of meeting in tribute to Abraham Markoff. | Daily Worker, Nov. 22, 1943, p. 3. |
| Do..... | Instructor..... | Young Communist Weekly Review, Apr. 7, 1942, p. 13; Daily Worker, Apr. 9, 1942, p. 5. |
| Do..... | Member, newly organized board of directors. | Daily Worker, May 11, 1942, p. 3. |
| North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy. | Signer of appeal to International Workers Order for help. | Daily Worker, Mar. 10, 1937, p. 1. |
| Reichstag Fire Trial Anniversary Committee. | Signer of declaration honoring Dimitrov. | New York Times, Dec. 22, 1943, p. 40. |
| Workers School | Instructor..... | New Masses, Apr. 14, 1942, p. 31. |
| Wrote The Life and Work of Carl Marx. | | Daily Worker, Mar. 6, 1933. |
| Now in Madrid, Spain, expects to leave shortly for Paris to attend World Congress Against Reaction and Anti-Semitism which opens Sept. 11. | | Daily Worker, Aug. 14, 1937, p. 2, c. 8. |
| Communist Party (Bedacht)..... | Lenin Memorial Meeting, speaker. | Daily Worker, Jan. 18, 1933, p. 7. |
| International Workers Order (Bedacht). | Member, Constitution Committee, Third National Convention. | Proceedings, Third National Convention, p. 49. |
| Communist Party (Bedacht, M.)..... | Contributor, The Workers Monthly. | The Workers Monthly, February 1927, p. 757. |
| International Workers Order (Bedacht, M.). | Speaker, Third National Convention. | Proceedings, Third National Convention, p. 51. |
| Communist Party (Bedacht, M.). | Signer of birthday greetings to Foster. | Daily Worker, Mar. 5, 1938, p. 2. |
| Communist Party..... | Speaker at election campaign meeting. | Daily Worker, Oct. 25, 1934, p. 3. |
| International Workers Order..... | General secretary (announces call to membership to urge the lifting of the embargo on Spain). | Daily Worker, May 12, 1938, p. 2. |
| Communist Party..... | Leader (greet's Browder on 47th birthday). | Daily Worker, May 20, 1938, p. 3. |
| Labor Herald ⁵ | Contributor..... | Labor Herald, January 1924, p. 11. |
| International Workers Order | General secretary..... | New Worker, August 1937, p. 2. |
| Do..... | Editor, New Order..... | New Order, December 1936, p. 2. |
| Do..... | Reports for National Executive Committee, Third National Convention. | Proceedings, Third National Convention, p. 2. |
| Do..... | Recommended to serve as the Presidium, Third National Convention. | Proceedings, Third National Convention, p. 2. |
| Do..... | Elected general secretary, Third National Convention. | Proceedings, Third National Convention, p. 92. |
| Do..... | Speaker, Third National Convention. | Proceedings, Third National Convention, p. 53. |

⁵ Not cited as a Communist front.

MAX BEDACHT—Continued

| Organization | Affiliation | Source |
|--|--|---|
| International Workers Order | General secretary, 1940 (photo) | Fraternal Outlook, June-July 1940, p. 5. |
| Do | Speaker at Stop Dies Meeting, Newark, N. J. (photo) | Fraternal Outlook, June-July 1940, p. 15. |
| Fraternal Outlook | Contributor | Fraternal Outlook, June-July 1940, p. 10. |
| International Labor Defense | Sent greetings to national conference. | Proceedings and report, p. 35. |
| Consumer-Farmer Milk Cooperative. | Sponsor | Why a Milk Cooperative, back cover. |
| Communist Party | Contributor, Workers Monthly | Workers Monthly, November 1924, p. 39. |
| Do | Contributor, The Workers Monthly. | The Workers Monthly, December 1926, p. 627. |
| Do | Contributor, Workers Monthly | Workers Monthly, October 1926, p. 536. |
| Do | do | Workers Monthly, January 1927, p. 681. |
| Do | do | Workers Monthly, February 1927, p. 726. |
| Do | Editor | Workers Monthly, January 1927, p. 675. |
| Do | Mentioned, Workers Monthly | Workers Monthly, June 1925, p. 373. |
| Do | Contributor, Workers Monthly | Workers Monthly, April 1925, p. 262. |
| Do | Candidate for Congress, 14th District, New York County, N. Y., 1936. | Daily Worker, Nov. 3, 1936, p. 2. |
| Do | Owner, Workers Monthly | Workers Monthly, May 1925, p. 330. |
| Do | Contributor, Workers Monthly | Workers Monthly, October 1925, p. 543. |
| Do | Contributor, Workers Monthly | Workers Monthly, November 1925, p. 45. |
| Do | do | Workers Monthly, December 1925, p. 91. |
| Do | Contributor, The Communist | The Communist, June 1938, p. 541. |
| Do | Business manager, The Communist. | The Communist, September 1929, p. 512. |
| Do | Acting secretary | Do. |
| Do | Editor, The Communist | The Communist, September 1929, p. 479. |
| International Workers Order | Editor, Fraternal Outlook | Fraternal Outlook, January 1939, p. 2. |
| Communist Party | Contributor, The Communist | The Communist, September 1934, p. 862. |
| Do | do | The Communist, March 1933, p. 249. |
| The Liberator | Contributor | The Liberator, March 1923, p. 8. |
| Do | Associate editor, political | The Liberator, May 1923, p. 14. |
| Communist Party | Mentioned, The Communist | The Communist, May 1931, p. 416. |
| The Liberator | Associate editor | The Liberator, February 1924, p. 20. |
| National Congress for Unemployment and Social Insurance. | Sponsor | A leaflet, Call to a National Congress for Unemployment and Social Insurance, p. 3, Jan. 5-7, 1935. |
| New Pioneer | Mentioned, as general secretary I. W. O. | New Pioneer, May 1937 p. 24. |
| International Workers Order | Member, national executive committee. | Second National Negro Congress, October 1937. |
| National Negro Congress | Sent greetings | Second National Negro Congress, October 1937. |
| New Pioneer | Contributing editor | New Pioneer, August 1931, p. 2. |
| Do | Contributor | New Pioneer, May 1932, p. 5. |
| Communist Party | Contributor, Workers Monthly | Workers Monthly, November 1926, p. 582. |
| Communist | do | Workers Monthly, September 1926, p. 486. |
| The Liberator | Contributor | The Liberator, June 1924, p. 13. |
| Communist Party | Instructor, Workers School, New York. | Party Organizer, January-February 1928, p. 12. |
| Do | Quoted, Party Organizer | Party Organizer, August-September 1933, p. 77. |
| Do | Contributor, Party Organizer | Party Organizer, January-February 1928, p. 19. |
| International Workers Order, Inc. | Secretary | Fraternal Outlook, November 1939, p. 28. |
| Do | General secretary | The New Order, October 1937, p. 3. |

* Not cited as a Communist front.

MAX BEDACHT—Continued

| Organization | Affiliation | Source |
|---|--|--|
| Daily Worker..... | Contributor..... | Daily Worker, January 11, 1930, p. 2. |
| Communist Party..... | Candidate for United States Senator, New York 1934. | Platform of struggle, election campaign committee, Communist Party, New York (pamphlet file). |
| Do..... | Candidate for Congress, 14th District, New York, 1936. | List of nominees for the office of United States Senator and for the office of Representative in the 75th Cong., compiled by Leroy D. Brandon, p. 15 (U. S. Government Printing Office). |
| Do..... | do..... | Daily Worker, Nov. 3, 1936, p. 4. |
| Do..... | Candidate for United States Senator, Illinois, 1928. | Letter from Secretary of State, Illinois. |
| Equal Justice..... | Sent greetings to the International Labor Defense. | Equal Justice, May 1938, p. 6. |
| Workers School..... | Speaker..... | Daily Worker, Mar. 11, 1938, p. 10. |
| International Workers Order..... | General secretary (announces 12,000 new members as result of membership drive). | Daily Worker, Mar. 15, 1938, p. 3. |
| Do..... | General secretary (announces financial statement). | Daily Worker, Mar. 4, 1938, p. 5. |
| Workers School..... | Speaker..... | Daily Worker, Mar. 8, 1938, p. 10. |
| International Workers Order..... | General secretary. | Daily Worker, Feb. 7, 1938, p. 5. |
| Do..... | General secretary (gives report to convention in Pittsburgh) (picture). | Daily Worker, Apr. 25, 1938, p. 1. |
| Communist Party..... | Speaker at Lenin Memorial Meeting in Wilkes-Barre, Pa. | Daily Worker, Jan. 27, 1938, p. 2. |
| International Workers Order..... | General secretary (picture). | Daily Worker, Jan. 22, 1938, p. 5. |
| National Defense Committee ⁵ | Member..... | The Toller, Sept. 24, 1920, p. 16. |
| Lenin Memorial Meeting..... | Speaker..... | Daily Worker, Jan. 4, 1930, p. 2. |
| Communist Party..... | Daily Worker Contributor (Discipline in Leninism). | Daily Worker, Jan. 21, 1930, p. 4. |
| Cleveland Forum ⁵ | Speaker..... | Daily Worker, Jan. 24, 1930, p. 2. |
| Daily Worker..... | Speaker, 6th anniversary celebration of. | Daily Worker, Jan. 4, 1930, p. 3. |
| Communist Party..... | Member of Secretariat..... | Daily Worker, Jan. 2, 1930, p. 1. |
| Labor Defender ⁵ | Sponsor, Special Memorial Issue..... | Labor Defender, October 1947, back cover. |
| The Workers Monthly..... | Owner..... | The Workers Monthly, November 1925, p. 45. |
| Communist International..... | Contributor..... | Communist International, vol. XII, No. 4, p. 147. |
| New Pioneer..... | Contributor..... | New Pioneer, October 1933, p. 132. |
| Communist Party..... | International Workers Order Committee to Support Communist Party Elections, treasurer. | Daily Worker, Aug. 1, 1919, p. 1, c. 4. |
| Do..... | International Workers Order, general secretary. | Daily Worker, Aug. 13, 1936, p. 6, c. 3. |
| Do..... | National committee CPUSA, member. | Vol. 7, hearings Un-American Activities Committee, p. 4281. |
| New Pioneer..... | Sent greetings to the Soviet Union. | New Pioneer, December 1932, p. 19. |
| Central Committee, Communist Party..... | Workers School, speaker..... | Daily Worker, Feb. 12, 1930. |
| Young Communist League ⁵ | Speaker..... | Daily Worker, Jan. 13, 1938, p. 8. |
| Communist Party..... | International Workers Order, national secretary, Jewish Section, endorsed Communist Party program. | Daily Worker, Nov. 6, 1933, p. 2. |
| The Workers School..... | Instructor, spring term..... | New Masses, February 1929, p. 30. |
| International Labor Defense..... | Sent greetings to the national conference. | Equal Justice, July 1939, p. 5. |
| American League Against War and Fascism..... | Member, national executive committee. | Letterhead, Aug. 22, 1935. |

⁵ Not cited as a Communist front.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair wishes to announce that there will be an executive session of the full committee at a quarter to 10 on Monday to take up the contempt citation of Leon Josephson.

The Chair also wishes to announce that public hearings will start on Monday, and the witnesses on Monday will be Mr. Bullitt and three representatives from the American Legion.

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